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ABSTRACT

The first conference focused on specific approaches in the offering of minority studies (both as a collective unit and as separate entities) and on problems of "Anglo" educators in medium-sized Midwestern institutions. Topic panels focusing on various literatures and on specific minority groups were held at the second conference. Stemming directly from papers presented at both conferences, this anthology of 14 essays deals with the subject of identity and awareness in the minority experience of Latinos, Native Americans, and Afro-Americans. Topics covered include: the importance of literature in the emergence of Latino identity; drama as an important medium in a quest for Latino identity; the main thrust of the Chicano studies program at New Mexico Highlands University (Las Vegas); Navajo "nationalism" as a source of identity and awareness; the impact of urbanization on the identity of Native Americans; the importance of identity and awareness from a literary perspective as it relates to Native Americans; the mulatto tradition in literature, a search for identity in two worlds; black identity and awareness viewed from the negative side, as developed by the English; adolescent literature viewed as a method of developing awareness and self-identity; the development of racial pride among blacks (from an historical perspective); and the issue of educational programs in the context of resocialization. (NQ)

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Identity and Awareness in the Minority Experience

SELECTED PROCEEDINGS OF THE 1st and 2nd ANNUAL CONFERENCES ON MINORITY STUDIES

March, 1973 and April, 1974

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Co-Editors: Dr. George E. Carter
Dr. Bruce L. Mouser

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Volume I, Number I

Price $5.00

IDENTITY AND AWARENESS
IN THE MINORITY EXPERIENCE:
PAST AND PRESENT

Edited by

George E. Carter and Bruce Mouser

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PREFACE

by

Bruce L. Mouser

Anthologies on Minority Studies have generally focused on separate ethnic or racial groups (e.g., The Black American by Leslie H. Fishel, Jr., and Benjamin Quarles; Native Americans Today by Howard M. Bahr, Bruce A. Chadwick, and Robert C. Day; or The Chicano by Edward Simmen) or on studies within particular disciplines (e.g., Minority Group Politics by Stephen J. Herzog; and Speaking for Ourselves by Lillian Faderman and Barbara Bradshaw, a collection of writings by authors from various racial, national, and religious backgrounds). To the student and educator, such anthologies have presented a convenient focus for study. Editors have produced collections which facilitate the teaching of specific curricula; and educators, too often ill-prepared to offer such courses, have allowed such anthologies to dictate the structure of their courses. Editors of most such collections, moreover, are affiliated with campuses with large minority enrollments and/or where the total enrollment is large enough to generate a proliferation of course offerings for various minority groups and disciplines.

While greeted by faculty and students with initial relief and anticipation, the flood of anthologies and specialization within collections has left many faculty at medium-sized and small institutions with the apprehension that such volumes inadequately serve their needs.

Time appeared ready for a new focus, an integra
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Time appeared ready for a new focus, an integration of "Minority" or "Multi-Cultural" studies into something which medium-sized and small institutions could reasonably expect to fund, to recruit students and, perhaps as important, to staff.

The title for this collection of essays, *Identity and Awareness in the Minority Experience: Past and Present*, perhaps promises to such educators more than the editors can reasonably expect to deliver. The essays demonstrate, however, that American minorities have more in common than they have differences. The development of minorities programs, the realities of protest literature, the role of tradition and myth, a growing racial and social awareness, and identity as individuals as well as social units -- all these transcend social and racial boundaries. Perhaps these aspects of commonality best characterize the "Minority Experience." Specialization of programs and isolated study of specific minority groups does raise the specter, moreover, that such programs inherently neglect parallels in the minority experience in America. Each minority possesses experiences which bring "being a minority" into focus and bring to Anglos as well as minority groups a fuller realization of that experience. This anthology attempts to reach that perspective.

The origins of this book, and more specifically of the 1973 Conference on Minority Studies, took form enroute from the Milwaukee Conference of African Historians to La Crosse, Wisconsin, in the spring of 1972. We were concerned about a lack of communications among educators in the Upper Midwest who were attempting to investigate and convey to students the multivaried field encompassed under the umbrella designation of "Minority Studies." We were equally concerned about the proliferation of conferences and meetings which dealt somewhat myopically with separate group problems and with specific disciplinary interests. Few universities underwrote educators sufficiently for them to attend more than a sample of such conferences. As initiators of yet another conference, we based our decision on the belief that educators in the Midwest, specifically those located at smaller institutions, would attend an interdisciplinary gathering addressed to their immediate concerns. At most, we could identify a few problems; at least, we would become aware of collective interests.

We determined to limit and structure the first conference to specific approaches in the offering of minority studies, both as a collective unit and as separate entities, and more specifically to problems of "Anglo" educators in medium-sized Midwestern institutions whose administrators asked them to develop programs which would satisfy demands for minority courses. Moreover, we hoped to provide some answers for institutions (university, college, secondary, and elementary levels) with dominant white populations which faced a demand from students for awareness about minorities and their problems and which found themselves with decreasingly mobile and increasingly tenured "Anglo" faculties. The conference program reflected these concerns, with one session on "Directions in Minorities Programs," a second on aspects of "Black Studies," a third on "Latinos," "Native Americans," and "Specialized Approaches," and a fourth on specific problems at the secondary and elementary levels and the difficulty of keeping minority students in school.

The first conference, attended by repr
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The first conference, attended by representatives of sixty-nine institutions from eighteen states, demonstrated that the concerns of the Institute for Minority Studies at the University of Wisconsin-La Crosse were not uncommon in the Midwest (nor in other regions, for that matter). But perhaps more important, the attendance showed that there was a growing awareness that problems which face one minority group are not restricted to that single group. "On-the-spot" formation of more than a dozen panels for an anticipated second conference which met in April, 1974, registered a further conference accomplishment. Topics for panels included such titles as: "The Future of Minority Student Centers," "The University's Responsibility to Minorities Students in External Degree Programs," "Religion and the Minority Experience," "Minority Business Development Input from Higher Education," "Pre-Service/In-Service Training Programs in Minority Studies," "Urban Racial and Ethnic Minorities," "The Role of Black Colleges in the Minorities Spectrum," "Minority Literature and the Adolescent," "Academic Racism and the University Ideal: A Continuing Problem," "Behavior of Administrators toward Integrated Education in Higher Education," "The Effect of Affirmative Action on Existing Minority Group Programs," and "American Minorities in International Affairs." The conference also included topic panels which focused on various literatures and on specific minority groups.

The essays in this collection stem directly from papers presented at the 1973 and 1974 conferences. The editorial board of the Institute invited each panelist to submit a paper for possible inclusion within this volume. From those papers presented for consideration, and from the tenor of the conferences as a whole, it is immediately evident that "Identity" and "Awareness" are themes that dominated the concerns of minorities and educators alike. In the introduction, George E. Carter distinguishes between racial and ethnic minorities, delineates the perimeters of the field of Minority Studies, and focuses on "parallels of oppression" which have characterized the minority experiences in America. Few of the essays in Parts I, II, and III attempt to specifically build bridges between the experiences of different racial groups. Yet, as a whole, the essays act as threads which weave to produce a better understanding than if each were to stand on its own merits.

The editors are indebted to the administration at the University of Wisconsin-La Crosse for their encouragement and financial support for a continuing series of conferences on Minority Studies from which these papers were drawn. Special appreciation is extended to Chancellor Kenneth Lindner without whose support these conferences could never have been held. The list of names of persons who made a contribution to the conferences is far too large to enumerate here, but each of them deserve a special word of appreciation.

INTRODUCTION

MINORITY STUDIES IN THE UNIVERSITY:
USES AND ABUSES

by

George E. Carter

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INTRODUCTION

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An anthology which deals with the subject of identity and awareness in the minority experience must consider the place of minority studies within the university. In large part, an increased concern for identity and awareness among minority students led to the establishment of minority studies programs within the university community. Further, minority studies programs need to respond to and address the minority experience in the United States in the light of the questions of identity and awareness. Thus, to understand precisely what minority studies means becomes critical in assessing the uses and abuses within the university community.

The term Minority Studies as used here is limited to racial minorities, and more precisely to non-European racial minority groups. Other oppressed groups, such as women, nationality or ethnic minorities, are omitted. While recognizing the pluralistic nature of American society in all its diversity, non-European racial minority groups are singled out for special attention. The reason for such exclusiveness relates to the unusual nature of the historical experience of non-European racial minorities in the United States and the degree of oppression experienced by these groups.

Thus, minority studies, for present purposes, is an umbrella concept in the sense that it assumes an amalgamation of Black or Afro-American Studies, Native-American Studies, Latino Studies, Oriental-American Studies, and the related courses, into one broad unit, minority studies. This is not to deny the individual identity of the parts or to imply they are somehow less important as individual fields of inquiry. In fact, the goal can be maintenance of the individual parts as essential elements of the broader whole.

Further, the concept of minority studies does not necessarily imply any acceptance of a melting pot or salad bowl. In fact, the concept does not arbitrarily accept or reject these notions as valid or invalid goals. Minority Studies should respect the individual integrity of each of its parts. There is no particular merit in assuming the individual parts of any given society must somehow fuse together to make something new. The historical evidence in the United States for the most part refutes such assumptions, and Minority Studies as a broad concept should not accept the desirability of fusion for the sake of fusion.

There is nothing inherently wrong with diversity within any given population. The individual parts can be respected, their integrity maintained, without destroying the society at large. Historians, among others, have long known that the melting pot theory as applied to the United States is a myth. Any student of American society can easily see that Black-Americans, Native-Americans, Asian-Americans, and, later, Latino-Americans have not been full participants in the American melting pot unless one wants to accept the idea of a melting pot in which those on the bottom get burned and the scum rises to the top.

The treatment of racial minorities in the United States from the very beginning of the country has involved racism of the worst order. Winthrop Jordan, in his important studies on the Black experience in early America, White Over Black and The White Man's Burden, stresses that in searching for the origins of racism in America he had to start

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with an analysis of white attitudes, not only toward Blacks, but also toward Native-Americans. Realizing he could not do both, he dropped the Indians. However, Jordan writes, " . . . in continuing with attitudes toward Negroes, Indians kept creeping . . . back in." The point Jordan makes is that white attitudes toward Blacks from the early beginnings of the country " . . . have done a great deal to shape and condition American responses to other racial minorities."[1] Significant for present purposes is the unstated assumption in Jordan's work that in the American experience there are "parallels of oppression" which racial minorities have had to face, both individually and as a racial minority group. In fact, white treatment of Blacks became the model for white Americans' treatment of non-whites.

At the same time, there are those who would argue for the "uniqueness of oppression" among racial minorities and, further, that it is a mistake to attempt to compare the experiences of different racial minorities. A good example of this position can be found in Vine DeLoria's book, Custer Died for Your Sins, particularly the third chapter entitled "The Red and the Black."[2] A program in Minority Studies must recognize the validity of both views and, perhaps more important, must make students and others aware that there are at least two views, if not many more, and further that the questions of awareness and identity will be influenced by whichever view is taken.

Thus, there is a good deal of confusion over the meaning of that well worn phrase, "American melting pot," and its relationship to minorities, racism, prejudice and discrimination, no better illustrated than in the anthologies which purport to cover the broad field of minority studies. Melvin Steinfield's *Cracks in the Melting Pot: Racism and Discrimination in American History*, 1970, is a case in point. In the Introduction Steinfield writes: "This book is about the Melting Pot idea and its relationship to racism and discrimination. For most of America's history her theoreticians have painted the concept of the Melting Pot in glorious terms. According to this myth, America is the land of freedom, democracy, and golden opportunity in which people of all races, creeds, and colors are accepted on equal terms. Pride in the assimilation of huge numbers of immigrants is a vital companion to the myth of the Melting Pot."[3] He goes on to discuss the historical literature that accepted the vision of harmony inherent in the myth. However, if one looks at the experiences of racial minorities in America, it is apparent that they were not even part of the myth. It can be persuasively argued that the phrase "melting pot," myth or reality, applied to white immigrants or ethnic groups, but not to racial minorities.

In fact, through most of American history there was no intention that racial minorities should melt. Steinfield notes: "While Anglos and other immigrants from northern and western Europe were 'melting;' blacks were enslaved, sold, denied voting rights, and lynched; Indians were shoved off the paths of westward expansion and massacred, Chinese and Japanese were excluded or interred; Mexicans were conquered and oppressed, and other ethnic minorities were victimized. . . ."[4] Note: ethnic minorities were victimized; racial minorities were enslaved, lynched, massacred, interred, and conquered.

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There is an inconsistency in a book about the melting pot which devotes large sections to groups that were not to melt. Steinfield himself, in the Introduction, realizes that racial minorities were not even part of the melting pot concept. The book, in fact, is not about any melting pot or cracks therein; it is really about waves of oppression. A major weakness in the anthology is the lack of parameters, and little effort is made to analyze the experience of racial minorities or to discuss the fact that they were beyond the pale. There is no recognition that the experiences of racial minorities, ethnic groups, and the Jews were significantly different, and no effort made to suggest any parallels. How can students gain awareness and sensitivity to minority issues when such a hodge-podge effect is presented? Steinfield himself further notes: "In 1970 Americans must realize that the Melting Pot has just as often been a boiling cauldron of conflict in which the vehement fury of racism and discrimination has never stopped bubbling."[5] Even more important, Americans must recognize that, at least for racial minorities, the concept was not even relevant to their experience.

Another example of the limited usefulness of present anthologies on minority studies is one edited by Leonard Dinnerstein and Frederic Cople Jaher, The Aliens: A History of Ethnic Minorities in America, 1970. The reader comes away from this work not even sure what an ethnic minority is. There are sections in the book devoted to immigrant groups, racial minorities, and a religious minority. The reader is told near the beginning, "The persistence of the minority problem prevents national unity from emerging out of ethnic diversity."[6] But then the authors go on to state: "One minority, however, is indeed a national concern today and 'minority problems' are frequently no more than a euphemism for black problems."[7] The Native-American student, or the Chicano student, just becoming aware of and sensitive to his or her past and cultural heritage, must cringe with such a narrow vision, and this kind of narrowness does little to provide understanding of the racial minority experience in the United States.

Further, Dinnerstein and Jaher seem to accept the melting pot myth judging from the following statement: "Although American attention focuses primarily upon the black minority today this may be a temporary phenomenon. Just as minority groups in the past have settled into comfortable anonymity, so too, hopefully, may the blacks. If in the future civilized societies make minority group adjustment a central concern, racial antipathies, riots, and tensions might be minimized or avoided."[8] Minority group adjustment to what? A society that still rejects racial minorities whenever possible. The Native-American student might question the statement that his or her ancestors settled into comfortable anonymity.

The Dinnerstein and Jaher collection, while containing some useful historical pieces, for the most part falls short because they do not recognize the differences and the parallels in the racial minority experience in America. In addition, there is an impreciseness in definition in the work which leaves the reader to wonder who is not a member of a minority group in America.

A final example of the limited value of the current literature in Minority Studies is Donald Keith Fellows' A Mosaic of America's Ethnic
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Minorities, 1972. Fellows provides no definition of the term ethnic minority. There are chapters on Blacks, Mexicans, Indians, Chinese, Japanese, and Puerto Ricans. The book is really about racial minorities, not ethnic groups. The reader is left with no certainty of definition unless ethnic minority and racial minority are the same thing. One of the purposes of this introductory essay is to strongly suggest that these two terms are not synonomous. In fact, one of the abuses perpetrated by university scholars has been an effort on their part to make the terms synonomous.

In the Preface to his anthology, Fellows only adds to the confusion. He writes: "The United States has often been regarded as the melting pot of the world--meaning, of course, that immigrants from other countries and Americans in minority racial or ethnic groups lose their unique self-identity, their culture and their heritage, and became submerged by the overpowering dominance of what has come to be called the 'American way of life.'"[9] Fellows appears to be making a distinction between racial and ethnic minorities; however, on examination one discovers he uses ethnic minority when he really means racial minority.

Fellows does recognize a distinction between acculturation and assimilation, and argues that for most immigrants acculturation was easy, but assimilation was not. He then points out that some "ethnic" groups did not view "Americanization either necessary or desirable," and cites as examples mid-nineteenth century Germans and Blacks of the early nineteen seventies.[10] He is actually discussing one ethnic minority--the Germans, and one racial minority--the Blacks; yet he consistently refers to Blacks as an ethnic minority.

Another problem with Fellows' terminology is his use of the term "mosaic" as part of the title. The term has been used often to describe Canadian society and the position of immigrant groups there.[11] The mosaic concept depicts Canadian society as fostering a multi-cultural identity with the many cultures involved all contributing their unique characteristics to the whole. The concept rejects the melting pot idea of a homogenized ideal society. The difficulty in all this is that the "mosaic" has been a myth in the same sense as the "melting pot" in American society.[12] Thus, the use of the term as applicable to America does not really contribute any meaningful insight relevant to the American experience. In fact, it invokes another element of confusion.

Minority Studies programs need to alert the university community of the weaknesses in the emerging literature. Those interested in awareness, sensitivity, and identity need to confront the reality of the racial minority experience in America. A good starting place is the assumption that for most white Americans " . . . the minorities themselves almost always have been viewed as the problem; indeed social reformers continually have tried to solve the 'Negro problem' or the 'Indian problem' or the 'Mexican problem'! . . . The oppressing majority never has endured a searching examination of the white problem."[13] As Carlson and Colburn aptly point out, " . . . until whites understand why this country puts its minorities 'in their place,' there will be no escape from that 'place' by those still outside society's mainstream."[14] One of the goals for Minority Studies programs at

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Minority Studies programs need to stress the fact that ethnic studies is not the same as minority studies. One of the abuses that has arisen in the university community is the effort to homogenize all groups under some umbrella concept. Daniels and Kitano have stated the case persuasively as to why it is important to separate ethnic and racial minority studies. "What then is the nature of what we call the ethnic crisis of our time? . . . For the first time in our history almost all of the submerged groups in our country . . . are demanding entrance into the major institutions of our society."[15] The causes of the crisis are varied, but in the end the inescapable conclusion becomes clear, namely " . . . the root cause was the pervasive nature of American racism--a racism which . . . consistently refused admission into full membership in society to the vast majority of colored Americans."[16] The fact is, American society from its earliest beginnings, as noted earlier in discussing Winthrop Jordon, has been racist in character.

To discuss the immigrant analogy or the ethnic analogy is to indulge not only in confusion but fantasy. The analogy argument is often used to raise the question of why racial minorities have not "made it" in American society. The Germans, the Irish, the Poles, the Norwegians, the Jews, have "made it." Why has the Black, the Native-American, the Chicano, not "made it"? The implication of the analogy is that those who have not "made it" are not willing to work and struggle to "make it," as others have.[17] The key factor in this false analogy is the fact of color.

The white immigrant, the white ethnic group, can merge with white America any time. The racial minority member faces the fact of a pervasive white racism, a racism which has permeated every aspect of American society for over 300 years. Herein lies the difference, and herein lies the most difficult task for Minority Studies. The curriculum of Minority Studies programs must seek to alter false images of reality and re-assert the facts of the American experience. Minority Studies curriculum must first and foremost separate myth from reality. It must deal with things as they were, not as wished or hoped. And further, Minority Studies curriculum must be anchored solidly in an academic mold; it must maintain an integrity of its own as a discipline which deals with the multi-racial experience of America as a fact, not as a myth.

What is at stake here is not only a matter of awareness and identity, or understanding; these are not enough. Minority Studies must go beyond these goals in a search for realism. In one sense Minority Studies is more than any Black Studies program, or Chicano Studies program, or Native-American Studies program, more in the sense it respects the integrity of each and also strives to achieve a "united front" that, by its very nature, is diverse.

The achievement of an integrated Minority Studies program at any university or college is no easy task. Many academic programs for racial minorities established in the late 1960's were in response to a crisis situation. Many lacked academic soundness or even careful

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Given the resources and faculty of most public institutions, and many private ones, it was not in the best interest of anybody to hold out hopes of major academic programs in Minority Studies. It was unrealistic to assume that most, if not all, colleges and universities in the country could or should field major academic programs in Black Studies, or Native-American Studies, or Latino Studies, or Asian-American Studies. At the prestigious Ivy League schools such as Yale University, an Afro-American Studies Department was not established until the fall of 1969 and required substantial financial assistance from the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations.[18] The kind of financial backing necessary to support a sound program was even slower in coming at major public institutions. Yet, promises were being made, and student expectations were high.

There were other difficult issues. Even if a school was able to create a program for Black students, what about programs for the other racial minorities? In fact, this problem is still with many institutions across the country. Yale University, for example, has one of the best, if not the best, Afro-American Studies Departments in the country today.[19] However, it has no structured academic program for Native-Americans, Asian-Americans, Chicanos or Puerto Ricans.[20]

By 1970 it was time for careful re-assessment. It was time to admit that all schools were not equipped to offer majors or minors in Black Studies, or any other racial minority studies. Schools needed to take a stand and indicate emphatically their given limitations in terms of staff, resources, and demand. A search for alternatives was the next step, and many smaller colleges and universities did evaluate their programs and ideas. However, the record was and still is irregular and, in fact, abuses continue to handicap many programs. Retrenchment within many schools has caused the elimination of some programs and the curtailment of others. The old adage, last hired, first fired, was being applied on a programmatic basis, and the newness of minority studies programs placed many in jeopardy. The process is still going on at many institutions.

Another common abuse within the university community has been the decreed course or program. By administrative fiat a new course or program is called for to sensitize students to the problems of minorities. In Wisconsin, the Department of Public Instruction Guidelines for a course in Humanism in Education provides a classic case. Education departments in colleges and universities across the state were told that all prospective teachers had to have a course in humanism for certification. A six point guide was provided stressing racial minority issues and the need for sensitivity, awareness, and understanding.[21] On the surface such a requirement seems desirable; however, with closer examination some very basic questions arise, such as, who will teach such a course, are qualified instructors available, and, most important,

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taking a three-credit course.

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As stated earlier, the university community must take a realistic and viable approach to minority studies. Admittedly, the situation will vary from school to school. At the same time, the university community has the responsibility of facing one of the major issues in the United States, racial misunderstanding and hostility. The nature of the response will in large part determine if the minority studies program will be useful or abuseful.

For far too many years, educators have operated in a mythical world created in large part by the nature of their own experience and contact. They have assumed that white middle class skills and values are functional and successful everywhere and at all levels of life. Such, in fact, is not the case, and minority studies should be the instrument for making the university community aware, and sensitive to, the realities of the racial minority experience in the context of the pervasive mythology that has saturated academia.

Without question, American society at large and particularly the university community needs a re-definition of its racial experience. Viable minority studies programs can be extremely valuable in bringing about this re-definition, both for whites and racial minorities. At the heart of the re-defining a recognition needs to occur that individual cultural, racial, and other identities can be maintained with pride, and at the same time a commitment to the multi-cultural, multiracial society can be maintained. As the Black novelist Ralph Ellison noted some years ago in his classic, Invisible Man: "America is woven of many strands: I would recognize them and let it so remain. Our fate is to become one, and yet many--this is not prophecy but description."

What follows are essays which attempt to provide integrated insight on the issues of awareness and identity in the minority experience. The nature of our multi-racial society is explored from past to present using the problems of awareness and idvntity as a unifying theme. Such is the stuff of realistic minority studies curriculum.

FOOTNOTES

1. Winthrop D. Jordan, *The White Man's Burden* pp. vii-ix, and Winthrop D. Jordan, *White* *Attitudes Toward the Negro, 1550-1812* (Cha Jordan's new book, *The White Man's Burden,* version of the much longer and definitive
2. Vine Deloris, Jr., *Custer Died for Your Si* pp. 169-95.
3. Melvin Steinfield, *Cracks in the Melting P* *Discrimination in American History* (Beverl
4. *Ibid.*, p. xx.
5. *Ibid.*
6. Leonard Dinnerstein and Frederic Cople Jah *History of Ethnic Minorities in America* (N
7. *Ibid.*, p. 10.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 12.
9. Donald K. Fellows, *A Mosaic of America's E* York, 1972), p. v.
10. *Ibid.*
11. See John Porter, *The Vertical Mosaic* (Toro
12. Marian C. McKenna, "The Melting Pot: Comp the United States and Canada," *Sociology a* (July, 1969).
13. *Ibid.*, p. ix.

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FOOTNOTES

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2. Vine Deloria, Jr., *Custer Died for Your Sins* (New York, 1969), pp. 169-95.
3. Melvin Steinfield, *Cracks in the Melting Pot: Racism and Discrimination in American History* (Beverly Hills, 1970), p. xv.
4. *Ibid*., p. xx.
5. *Ibid*.
6. Leonard Dinnerstein and Frederic Cople Jaher, Eds., *The Aliens: A History of Ethnic Minorities in America* (New York, 1970), p. v.
7. *Ibid*., p. 10.
8. *Ibid*., p. 12.
9. Donald K. Fellows, *A Mosaic of America's Ethnic Minorities* (New York, 1972), p. v.
10. *Ibid*.
11. See John Porter, *The Vertical Mosaic* (Toronto, 1965).
12. Marian C. McKenna, "The Melting Pot: Comparative Observations in the United States and Canada," *Sociology and Social Research* (July, 1969).
13. *Ibid*., p. ix.

14. Lewis H. Carlson and George A. Colburn, _In Their Place: White America Defines Her Minorities, 1850-1950_ (New York, 1972), p. ix.

15. Roger Daniels and Harry H. L. Kitano, "The Ethnic Crisis of Our Time," in _Viewpoints_, p. 3. The use of the term "ethnic" in the title is unfortunate and misleading because it is clear that "racial crisis of our time" would be more precise and more apt.

16. _Ibid_., pp. 3-4.

17. _Ibid_., p. 5.

18. _Afro-American Studies at Yale_ (New Haven, 1972), p. 1.

19. _New York Times_, April 21, 1974.

20. _Yale University Director, 1973-1974_ (New Haven, 1973), and _Yale College Programs of Study_ (New Haven, 1973), pp. 5-8.

21. See State of Wisconsin, Department of Public Instruction, _Administrative Code PI 3.03_, "Administrative Code Requirement in Human Relations."

Part I

THE LATINO EXPERIENCE

There is an old adage that a person who knows no history is comparable to an individual with no memory. To be denied the existence of one's history and heritage, to pretend that a certain group has no heritage or history, is to deny an important part of an individual's identity. For years Americans denied the history and heritage of Afro-Americans, Native-Americans, and Latinos, or at least any that was worth recalling or preserving.

The four papers presented here all deal in some way with the question of identity and awareness in the Latino experience. The importance of literature in the emergence of identity is stressed as Yvette Miller writes: ". . . the Chicanos are determined to project their image and cultural heritage. They are equally determined to establish their identity as a group that will not permit itself to be diffused into the ranks of a subdued, acculturated society." The message of this first essay rings loud and clear, namely, Chicano authors view self-identity and social identity as critical to the survival of Chicano heritage and culture.

The second essay illustrates that drama is an important medium in a quest for identity. The two authors discussed, Louis Valdez and Nepthali de Leon, ". . . represent both a search of social and personal identity through two kinds of symbols . . . the heroic past of the Aztecs and the present, represented by Ruben Salazar." Further, Pedro

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Bravo-Elizondo stresses that ". . . the two studied works look to fix the roots of their content in the sources that feed the search for a social and human identity."

Addressing himself to a regional issue, Nicolas Kanellas writes of a peculiar problem for a racial minority in the Midwest. Writing about Our Lady of Guadalupe Church at Indiana Harbor, he notes: ". . . this church . . . came to be the largest and most visible reminder of Mexican identity." The evolution of Spanish newspapers in the Chicago area came about primarily out of a concern for protecting the Mexican identity in exile. The concern for preserving documents in itself indicates the importance of identity and the need for awareness of the past heritage of Mexican-Americans in the heartland of America.

The final essay in this section illustrates the contemporary concern of Mexican-Americans. Chicano students believe that to gain respect ". . . they must first establish a cultural identity enabling them to respect themselves." Alvin Sunseri demonstrates that the main thrust of the Chicano studies program at New Mexico Highlands University is a matter of identity and awareness.

Taken together, the four essays illustrate the importance of identity and awareness in the Latino experience, past and present.

THE CHICANOS: EMERGENCE OF A SOCIAL IDENTITY THROUGH LITERARY OUTCRY

by

Yvette Espinosa Miller
Carnegie-Mellon University
Pittsburg, Pennsylvania

The stentorian voice of the Chicanos is bei
profusion of publications which encompass the fi
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The Chicano voices range from purely litera
outcries with a deceptive appearance of resignat
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calls for resistance to "La Raza" to join and st
the struggle. These last two attitudes are more
writings.

The present purpose is to examine the Chica
within the scope of different Chicano anthologie
on fiction and poetry, but not excluding sociolo
study will include mainly surface analyses of th
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Aztlán, Voices, We Are Chicanos, El Grito, La Ra
Aztlán (the journal), and Magazín.

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arnegie-Mellon University
Pittsburg, Pennsylvania

The stentorian voice of the Chicanos is being heard through a wide profusion of publications which encompass the fields of history and sociology, anthropology, politics, religion, education, literature, and folklore. Conscious of their force as the second largest minority in the United States, the Chicanos are determined to project their image and cultural heritage. They are equally determined to establish their identity as a group that will not permit itself to be diffused into the ranks of a subdued, acculturated minority. Rather, their wish is to enlighten the public about their epic past and reveal the injustices they have suffered--and are suffering--in an alien environment which has attempted to engulf and subdue them. For the Chicanos, demonstrating their social identity has become an essential step made necessary by the discrimination to which they have been subjected.

The Chicano voices range from purely literary accounts to muted outcries with a deceptive appearance of resignation which hides an ambivalent judgment of social criticism, to militant and outspoken calls for resistance to "La Raza" to join and strengthen the ranks for the struggle. These last two attitudes are more prevalent in Chicano writings.

The present purpose is to examine the Chicano literary outcry within the scope of different Chicano anthologies and journals focusing on fiction and poetry, but not excluding sociological essays. This study will include mainly surface analyses of the following Chicano anthologies and journals: *El Espejo*, *Yearnings*, *From the Barrio*, *Aztlán*, *Voices*, *We Are Chicanos*, *El Grito*, *La Raza*, *Regeneración*, *Aztlán* (the journal), and *Magazín*.

A worthy representative of the Chicano literary output in fiction and poetry is _El Espejo_,[1] an anthology of selected literature that includes short stories from Silvio Villavicencio, Miguel Méndez, Octavio I. Romano-V., Carlos Velez, Nick Vaca, Rudy Espinosa, and Juan García. Poetry is represented by Miguel Ponce, Alurista, José Montoya, and Estupinián. Most of the contributors are either graduate students or professors. The selections vary in theme and mood from lyrical outbursts to emphatic expressions of the Chicano plight and _modus vivendi_.

The title story, _El Espejo_, written in bilingual text by Silvio Villavicencio, shows an interesting stream of consciousness technique with multiple perceptions of reality, as the protagonist unveils the thoughts which gradually lead him to kill his pregnant lover, Elena.[2] Miguel Méndez, in "Workshop for Images" (also in bilingual text), writes in surrealistic prose with a profusion of imagery and bold ultraistic metaphors, all in a somber mood.[3]

In "Goodbye Revolution--Hello Slum," Octavio Romano, the renowned anthropologist, paints a bitterly satiric picture of the fate of the Mexicans who fled the revolution only to encounter the slum. In a caustic "expose" he deals with the strikes of the twenties and thirties and the ensuing deportations:

> "Once again the raids in the night. Once again the military. Thousands and thousands and thousands of people deported; men, women and children. Twenty thousand men, women and children from one city alone, the rigidly segregated city of San Antonio, city of the Alamo. But now, thanks to the wonders of a developed industrial nation, the descendants of the Aztecs no longer have to walk slowly in search of

> another home. Now they are abundantly welco
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> boats; by-products of an advancing civilizat
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The Mexican Americans who remained behind continued to strike until World War II, "at which time," he proceeds sardonically, "they were sent forth to fight injustice in Europe and Asia."[5] "Mosaico Mexicano" shows Octavio Romano's versatility in the composition of prose and poetry that includes pathetic chants to the destiny of the transplanted Mexican, continually beset by injustice and cruelty.[6]

The remainder of the selections in *El Espejo* convey the same theme: the pathos and inequity of the enforced *modus vivendi* of the Mexican Americans, sometimes resulting in a warped sense of honor and piety. "A Rosary for Doña Marina" is further proof of Romano's flexibility. On one level, he deals with a misunderstood sense of honor which leads a Mexican woman to excesses in protecting the family's *honra*. Doña Marina drives her fourteen-year-old niece away from home when she tries to force her to undergo an abortion for an imaginary pregnancy, at the hands of an unscrupulous doctor. She then takes refuge in religion, in the form of weekly prayers at church. On another level, the working conditions and daily life routine of Mexican-Americans laboring in fish canneries and at the railroad are portrayed realistically. Doña Marina keeps house for Pedro, her second cousin, a railroad worker of thirty-two:

"Pedro was now employed in the nearby railroad yards where his task was to help carry a seemingly endless number of railroad ties soaked in creosote and placed, as he often said, 'where I am told.' Across his right shoulder he wore a slab of leather for protection from the creosote. But the leather was not enough and the fiery liquid seeped through, causing his shoulder to be perpetually covered with callouses and watery blisters. When he returned home at the end of each day he always rubbed soft yellow olive oil over his shoulder sores. It was but a staying action, for on the following day they burst again. Often, in moments of bitterness over his lot, he would look upon the perpetually inflamed shoulder as a brand by which, he would exclaim, 'People around here can tell who is Mexican and who is not. It is not enough to be brown, but I must have this bloody brand in addition.'"[7]

Nick Vaca, another contributor to El Espejo, writes about the fate of old Mexicans in two of his short stories, which are set in the San Joaquin Valley. In "The Purchase," the elderly, widowed Doña Lupe agonizes over ways to buy Christmas gifts for her ten children out of a meager pension. She learns about the "lay-away plan" from a friend and proudly selects a series of trinkets at one of the town's stores. On the day she makes her next to last payment, she is accused of stealing. Bewildered and hurt by the injustice, she decides to forego store-bought presents and starts embroidering her usual gifts of towels and handkerchiefs.[8] In "The Visit," an old and ailing Mexican living in a dilapidated trailer--ironically built of packing boxes from Hunt and Heinz 57--receives a visit from his son. The author skillfully shows the old man's expectations as they reach the zenith and descend to the

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will get relief from his pains. The story ends
he is left alone, knowing that the promises will
that he must endure his crippling rheumatism to
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nadir: he will be taken to a doctor, that impossible luxury, and he will get relief from his pains. The story ends in a gripping tone as he is left alone, knowing that the promises will never be kept, and that he must endure his crippling rheumatism to the end.[9] Both "The Purchase" and "The Visit" are an outcry against social laws which offer little or no protection against poverty and disease for the aged Mexicans.

In the poetic chants, the cries of despair and bitterness, of solitude and protest, of nostalgia for the ancestral home left forever, of grief for the bygone glories of the bronze race, may take on resigned or defiant tones, as expressed in the poetry of Alurista, Montoya, and Estupinián.

Yearnings[10] affords an interesting thematic subdivision in its index of contents, grouped under nine self-explanatory titles: (1) Heritage, Customs, Legends; (2) Identity; (3) The Many Faces of Love; (4) Conflict, Anger, Protest; (5) Pride; (6) Hope; (7) Hopelessness; (8) The Many Faces of the Human Spirit; and (9) Word Portraits. Under "Heritage," the most powerful outcry of resentment and defiance is found in Apolinar Melero's manifesto, "Mi Gente."

> "My people are the Chichimecas, Toltecs, Zapotecs, and others who established great civilizations in the Valley of Anahuac.
> My people swept down from Aztlán and conquered Anahuac.
> . . . .
> My people were eagles who soared and fell.
> My people were defeated physically but not spiritually.
> . . . .

> We refuse to be labeled aliens in our own land which is so much a part of us, which at every turn reminds us that this, the Southwest, belongs to us.
>
> Yet we now merely survive in the *barrios* of Los Angeles, San Antonio. . . .
>
> We, who once had the greatest civilization in the Americas, are now looked on as simple laborers.
>
> Oh, woe to us for the backbreaking labor which we must do merely to survive for it hunches our backs and cuts our hour.
>
> Think you, *gringo*, we do not despair at our condition? Think you, we do not know this is our land? Think you, we do not think of reclaiming it one day? Think, *gringo*.
>
> My people are hungry; we are hungry not only of the stomach, but of the soul; we hunger for revenge. *Virgen de Guadalupe*, give my people the strength to do what must be done.
>
> My people have tilled the Southwest, they have worked, sweated, and bled to make it prosper, yet they share in none of the rewards.
>
> My people now slave in the fields as beasts of burden and are denied basic human working conditions. I ask you, *gringo*. Can you give my people back their dead, whom you murdered?
>
> . . . .
>
> Can you give me my land back?
>
> America has been built on the blood, the sweat, and shattered hopes of millions of Negroes, Indians, Mexicans . . . ."[11]

In the section in *Yearnings* subtitled "Identity," the essay by Hilario H. Contredas, "The Chicanos Search for Identity," focuses on a

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Anglo-Americans and Chicanos. He notes that
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> "In the United States of America, . . . cult
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s, "The Chicanos Search for Identity," focuses on a

comparative anthropological analysis of the concept of "identity" for Anglo-Americans and Chicanos. He notes that the former lack spiritual identity, since their society is ruled by conformity and is materially oriented. In his words:

> "In the United States of America, . . . cultural traditions, in a strict sense, do not exist. The only behavioral demand American society makes on the individual citizen is conformity to the life pattern of the Anglo majority. And it is at this point where the identity-crises of members of minority groups have been provoked. . . . The purely materialistic ambition of the pioneer survives in contemporary Anglo thinking . . . ."[12]

On the other hand, the Chicano does not conceive of culture as the pursuit of material happiness, and Contredas concludes that "The tragedy of the Anglo-American's lack of identity is final, while the Chicano's loss of cultural identity is only temporary."[13] His essay ends on a proud note, "Although the Chicano knows that the body has to be fed, housed, and clothed, he feels his identity with the spirit and declares with pride: *Por mi raza habla el espíritu*!"[14]

Variations on the theme of Chicano pride and individual or social identity are also evident in the poetry of James Perez and in Homer Barrera's short essay, "Mexican-American Is," some of which follows:

> "Mexican-American Is:
>
> *Persona non grata* in the WASP neighborhoods in spite of being white. . . .
>
> . . . .
>
> "Mexican-American is SHARING:

race with the Anglo-Saxon
but not a welcomed place
discrimination with the blacks
but not their rebelliousness
stoicism with the Jews
but not their power
religion with the Catholics
but not their hierarchy
isolation with the Eskimos
but not their quiet bliss
oblivion with the Indians
but not their federal patronage
cultural pride with the Orientals
but not their determination.

. . . .

"But far more importantly, Mexican-American is being infinitely more beautiful than any hostile or violent environment will allow you to believe you are and knowing that someday the anguish will be acknowledged with justice because, above all, Mexican-Americans are the brothers of peace! PEACE!"[15]

The flaws in the educational system, one of the first problems challenging the young Chicano in his search for identity, are elicited by Vince Villagran in "The Death of Miss Jones."[16] Appalled by the inadequacy of the methods used in teaching Mexican children, a young instructor tries to institute some reforms, but is thwarted in her efforts by an apathetic administration. The same subject is treated by

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Juan García in "Time Changes Things,"[17] which describes Mexican children being taught in English--a language they do not master--by teachers who know no Spanish. This leads to below-average performances by the students, who are then herded into classes for the mentally retarded. Criticism of the educational system in the United States is seen often in Chicano essays and fiction.

The editorial guidelines for the compilation of From the Barrio are stated by Luis Omar Salinas and Lillian Faderman in its Foreword:

"The poets, fiction writers, and essayists who are collected in this text have one thing in common: they are Chicanos concerned with Chicanismo, both as a political stance and as a life style. However, the reader will discover within the framework of that common concern a whole spectrum of attitudes, from unrelenting political militancy to placid praise for a Chicana lover.

"The two-part organization of the book suggests the spectrum: Part I, My Revolution, presents literature that seeks to make a political statement. . . .

"Part II, My House, presents literature that seeks to make a personal statement. Sometimes the statement describes life in the barrio; sometimes it deals with the experiences of mixing in an Anglo world; sometimes it celebrates Chicano beauty; and often it expresses pain or happiness that transcends the ethnic."[18]

In a comment on the writing experience of the authors represented in From the Barrio, Salinas and Faderman concur: "All of them bring to literature a new voice--the Chicano voice--which has been neglected by readers and critics for far too long."[19]

The choice of selections for Part I, "My Revolution," varies from an objective account of the plight of the Mexican-American field worker, by Armando Rendón, to the bitter and sometimes defiant poetry of Omar Salinas. But even the realistic appraisal of Rendón in his essay, "How Much Longer . . . The Long Road?," becomes a plea for mercy, which is implicit in its title and explicit in part of the text:

> "How much longer this long road for the migrant farm worker? How many more the years of kneeling and picking down the rows of tomatoes or strawberries, of bending to the short-handle hoe, of being cheated out of a fair day's wage for a fair day's work, of camping on a river bank or renting a broken-down shack, of pulling your children out of school before they get a chance to really learn or even make a friend?"[20]

Touching upon the same theme, we hear the threatening chant of Salinas in his poem, "Mestizo":

"In the fields
and in the barrios
our
Mestizos
are fed up with conditions/
and we believe
in our man from Delano
César Chávez
because the rich man
has put us down
for many years/
so when you hear Huelga
watch it
'cause we're on our way/[21]

In the first part of From the Barrio, f
two short stories. The first, "The Legend o
Américo Paredes, is based on the life of a M
tice in his own hands to revenge his brother,
killed by the police.[22] The story takes a M
confrontation between the hero and his Anglo-
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In the first part of From the Barrio, fiction is represented by two short stories. The first, "The Legend of Gregorio Cortéz," by Américo Paredes, is based on the life of a Mexican hero who takes justice in his own hands to revenge his brother, who had been unlawfully killed by the police.[22] The story takes a Manicheistic approach to the confrontation between the hero and his Anglo-American pursuers, and contains a satire on the American judicial system. The second short story, "'And Man Was Made WORD': Chicano Genesis," by Alfredo Otero y Herrera, vividly depicts the polarity of the environment as a Chicano boy trying to deliver papers is frightened into submission by Anglo bullies his own age, who monopolize the paper route. The story ends with an ironic twist when the boy, scared and ashamed, runs home only to face his mother's epithets against his "laziness."[23] In the words of the editors, he is learning "to define the enemy within and the enemy without."[24]

The Introduction to the second part of From the Barrio gives an accurate description of its contents, and again it seems best to quote, in part, the editors' intent:

"The selections in Part II, My House, illustrate the Chicano's search for self-definition, for a definition of his community experience and of his culture, and for an identity . . . The writers of this part look either inward, at their immediate surroundings, or at their collective past in the United States, and out of this material they

> create a group identity. . . . But most frequently, the writers of this part are concerned with the immediacy of the Chicano experience--with what it means to live Chicano in the United States, now. And out of this concern come new voices in literature. . . . Chicano identity is defined by each brush with the Anglo, which serves to intensify a sense of separateness and bitterness as well as Chicano unity . . . . It is defined by the struggle against the shame which is treacherously implanted in the Chicano child . . . and by a victory over that shame. . . . And out of this spectrum of mood and character and situation comes a cohesive picture of the Chicano experience and of Chicanismo."[25]

An intimate knowledge of the barrio is reflected in the poetry of Ben Luna, Enrique Rodríquez, and José Rendón. The pathetic chant of the Chicano child is heard in "Roberto en Kindergarten" by Leonardo Adamé:

"They say you do not understand
that you are quiet.
They do not hear
your mother at 5:00 in the morning
hum the warm song of flour tortillas,
or the grinding starter motor
of the '42 Ford pick-up
in whose bed you've slept."[26]

The same pathos is heard in Luis Omar Salinas' poem, "In a Farmhouse":

"I made two dollars and
thirty cents today
I am eight years old

and I wonder
how the rest of the Mestizos
do not go hungry
and if one were to die
of hunger
what an odd way
to leave for heaven."[27]

The last selections in From the Barrio are
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In Amado Muro's "Cecilia Rosas," the Chicano id
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Other Chicano anthologies, such as The Chi
Voices,[32] rely heavily on essays relating to hi
cal aspects, with little or no fiction, poetry
Chicanos[33] is divided into two parts in which th
and creative literature are equally represented.
and The Chicanos contain excerpts of the novel,
by Raymond Barrios, the most poignant Chicano no
the best declamations for the Chicano field work
is found in the short stories of Tomas Rivera,
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to leave for heaven."[27]

The last selections in *From the Barrio* are short stories which also deal with Mexican youth. The educational problems of the Chicano child are posed anew in an excerpt from *Chicano* by Richard Vásquez.[28] In Amado Muro's "Cecilia Rosas," the Chicano identity is defined by a Mexican boy's struggle and bitter triumph over his feelings of inferiority in competition with an Anglo.[29]

Other Chicano anthologies, such as *The Chicanos*,[30] *Aztlán*,[31] and *Voices*,[32] rely heavily on essays relating to historical and sociological aspects, with little or no fiction, poetry or drama. *We Are Chicanos*[33] is divided into two parts in which the sociological essay and creative literature are equally represented. Both *We Are Chicanos* and *The Chicanos* contain excerpts of the novel, *The Plum Plum Pickers*, by Raymond Barrios, the most poignant Chicano novel and perhaps one of the best declamations for the Chicano field worker.[34] Its counterpart is found in the short stories of Tomas Rivera, and more pointedly in "Y no se lo tragó la tierra."[35] In all of these anthologies, the Chicano voice is heard loudly and clearly, whether rejoicing in the pride of Mexican ancestry or Chicano identity, or raging in protest and proposing reforms.

Of the Chicano journals that have sprung up in the last few years, El Grito[36] offers more latitude in its contents and has national circulation. Aztlán[37] focuses more on the sociological scope of the Chicano problems, while La Raza[38] and Regeneración[39] are more politically oriented. Moreover, La Raza emphasizes the role of the woman in the Chicano community, where she is becoming increasingly active. Magazín,[40] with a format similar to the last two mentioned, includes graphic illustrations. The Revista Chicano-Riqueña,[41] recently launched at Indiana University by Nicolas Kanellos and Luis Dávila, is another outlet for the diffusion of Chicano literature.

In conclusion, it seems appropriate to quote from Herminio Ríos' Preface to Voices. The words of Ríos aptly represent the Chicano attitude that is producing "the literary outcry."

> "To be swallowed by a shark while swimming in shark infested waters lies within the normal course of human events. To be swallowed by a shark without a heroic struggle would be purely a figment of someone's fertilely biased imagination and a complete negation of the determined struggle of Numancia before succumbing to Escipión Emiliano's Roman legions in 133 B.C., and a denial of the heroic death struggle of Tenochtitlán before falling to Cortés in 1521. To be in the belly of the shark without tearing its guts out would be another deleterious aberration of Man's history, and, indeed, of his very essence. . . . We are in the belly of the shark, and the question of whether or not to gut the shark is academic. It is clearly a question of method. For the time being, the shark is being effectively gutted by militant non-violence waged at an untouchable moral plane, and by the surgically

> precise mental scalpels of Chicanos who are
> of the cultural mystique; by Chicanos who,
> incisive cuts, are expertly dissecting the
> American social science; and by Chicanos who
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precise mental scalpels of Chicanos who are peeling away the thin veils of the cultural mystique; by Chicanos who, with penetrating probes and incisive cuts, are expertly dissecting the sacred cows of Anglo American social science; and by Chicanos who are brilliantly rewriting the sociology of the Mexican American. . . ."[42]

FOOTNOTES

1. El Espejo--The Mirror, Selected American Literature, ed. Octavio I. Romano-V. (Berkeley, California, 1969).
2. El Espejo, p. 2.
3. El Espejo, p. 67.
4. El Espejo, p. 80.
5. El Espejo, p. 80.
6. El Espejo, p. 83.
7. El Espejo, p. 107.
8. El Espejo, p. 144.
9. El Espejo, p. 150.
10. Yearnings, Mexican American Literature, ed. Albert C. Chávez (West Haven, Conn., 1972). Some selections cited in this paper were reprinted in Yearnings by permission of Con Safos, Inc., P. O. Box 31085, Los Angeles, California.
11. Yearnings, pp. 37-8.
12. Yearnings, pp. 25-6, 29.
13. Yearnings, p. 29.
14. Yearnings, p. 32.
15. Yearnings, pp. 37-8.
16. Yearnings, p. 97.
17. El Espejo, p. 237.
18. From the Barrio: A Chicano Anthology, ed. Luis Omar Salinas and Lillian Faderman (New York, 1973), p. vi.
19. From the Barrio, p. vi.

20. From the Barrio, p. 11.
21. From the Barrio, p. 32.
22. From the Barrio, p. 49.
23. From the Barrio, p. 65.
24. From the Barrio, p. 1.
25. From the Barrio, pp. 99-100.
26. From the Barrio, p. 107.
27. From the Barrio, p. 116.
28. From the Barrio, p. 119.
29. From the Barrio, p. 134.
30. The Chicanos: Mexican American Voices, ed. Santibañez (Baltimore, 1971).
31. Aztlán: An Anthology of Mexican American Li Valdez and Stan Steiner (New York, 1972).
32. Voices, Readings from 'El Grito,' ed. Octavi (Berkeley, California, 1971).
33. We Are Chicanos: An Anthology of Mexican-Am Philip D. Ortego (New York, 1973).
34. "Lupe's Dream," excerpt from The Plum Plum P Chicanos, p. 310; excerpt in The Chicanos, p.
35. Excerpted in El Grito, Vol. IV, No. 2 (1971).
36. El Grito: A Journal of Contemporary Mexican- Quinto Sol Publications, Inc., Berkeley, Cali
37. Aztlán. Chicano Journal of the Social Scienc American Cultural Center, University of Calif California.

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29.

Chicano Anthology, ed. Luis Omar Salinas and

w York, 1973), p. vi.

vi.

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20. From the Barrio, p. 11.

21. From the Barrio, p. 32.

22. From the Barrio, p. 49.

23. From the Barrio, p. 65.

24. From the Barrio, p. 1.

25. From the Barrio, pp. 99-100.

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27. From the Barrio, p. 116.

28. From the Barrio, p. 119.

29. From the Barrio, p. 134.

30. The Chicanos: Mexican American Voices, ed. Ed Ludwig and James Santibañez (Baltimore, 1971).

31. Aztlán: An Anthology of Mexican American Literature, ed. Luis Valdez and Stan Steiner (New York, 1972).

32. Voices, Readings from 'El Grito,' ed. Octavio I. Romano-V. (Berkeley, California, 1971).

33. We Are Chicanos: An Anthology of Mexican-American Literature, ed. Philip D. Ortego (New York, 1973).

34. "Lupe's Dream," excerpt from The Plum Plum Pickers, in We Are Chicanos, p. 310; excerpt in The Chicanos, p. 83.

35. Excerpted in El Grito, Vol. IV, No. 2 (1971).

36. El Grito: A Journal of Contemporary Mexican-American Thought, Quinto Sol Publications, Inc., Berkeley, California.

37. Aztlán. Chicano Journal of the Social Sciences and Art. Mexican American Cultural Center, University of California, Los Angeles, California.

38. La Raza, Los Angeles, California.

39. Regeneración, Los Angeles, California.

40. Magazín, San Antonio, Texas.

41. Revista Chicano-Riqueña, Indiana University Research Center for the Language Sciences, Bloomington, Indiana.

42. Voices, p. 6.

SYMBOLIC MOTIFS IN TWO CHICANO DRAMAS

by

Pedro Bravo-Elizondo
University of Wisconsin - Whitewater
Whitewater, Wisconsin

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Chicano literature is born from the encounte
traditions, the Hispanic and the American. In th
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Valdez and *Chicanos: The Living and the Dead*[2] by
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protect his sister, the Earth. When the Moon ask
Earth to Bernabe, the Sun makes the Earth a virgi
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It is interesting to examine the characteriz
Bernabe is not only the protagonist of the story,
the Aztecs, physically and spiritually. The Sun
"Once there were men like you Bernabe--de tus mis
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These men were mis hijos. They pierced the human
into the stars and found the hungry fire that eat
saw what only a loco can understand: that life i
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Bernabe accepts his sacrifice at the hands o
death converts the Earth into a virgin, ready to

MOTIFS IN TWO CHICANO DRAMAS

by

Pedro Bravo-Elizondo
ity of Wisconsin - Whitewater
Whitewater, Wisconsin

Chicano literature is born from the encounter of two cultural traditions, the Hispanic and the American. In the same way the symbolic motifs in Bernabe: A Drama of Modern Chicano Mythology[1] by Luis Valdez and Chicanos: The Living and the Dead[2] by Nepthali de Leon, represent both a search of social and personal identity through two kinds of symbols that they carry with their characters, the heroic past of the Aztecs and the present, represented by Ruben Salazar.

Valdez uses as the historical framework for his play one of the Aztec rituals, the offering of a human heart to the god Huitzilopochtli, in order to introduce to us the history of Bernabe, "the village idiot," who asks the Sun for the body of his daughter, the Earth. He is taunted, then tempted by the Moon, who appears as a "pachuco" to protect his sister, the Earth. When the Moon asks the Sun to give the Earth to Bernabe, the Sun makes the Earth a virgin again through the sacrifice of Bernabe.

It is interesting to examine the characterization in the drama; Bernabe is not only the protagonist of the story, but a prototype of the Aztecs, physically and spiritually. The Sun describes him thusly: "Once there were men like you Bernabe--de tus mismos ojos, tu piel, tu sangre. They loved La Tierra and honored her padre above all else. These men were mis hijos. They pierced the human brain and plunged into the stars and found the hungry fire that eats of itself. They saw what only a loco can understand: that life is death, and death is life" (373).

Bernabe accepts his sacrifice at the hands of the Sun and his death converts the Earth into a virgin, ready to procreate and to offer happiness to those such as Bernabe, who do not exploit her but rather love her. When Bernabe is reborn in the "here after" he recovers his brilliance and his appearance has changed. He now is wearing an Indian cape that the Moon put on him. As a musical background for the sacrifice he hears drums and flutes, typical Aztec instruments.

La Tierra appears as a beautiful soldier with cartridge belts reminding us of the element with most human and social content of the Mexican Revolution: the woman, the Adelita. She declares to Bernabe, in a cunning and provocative way:

> "Mírame hombre--look at me. I'm La Tierra. Do you want me? Because if you do, I'll be your mujer. (*Bernabe reaches out to embrace her*.) Not so fast pelado! I'm not Consuelo (the prostitute), you know. You'll have to fight to get me. Que no sabes nada? Men have killed each other fighting over me" (368-69).

His father, the Sun, describes her in the following manner:

> "Do you hear me, Bernabe. She has been married before. She has even been raped! Many times. Look at her--this is La Tierra who has been many things to all men. Madre, prostituta, mujer" (372).

The Earth is the goddess Cihuacoatl, "la Chingada," one of the Mexican representations of Maternity.[3]

The characterization given by the Sun carries the triple meaning of a mother for the poor whom she feeds and sustains when they work her; a prostitute for those with money and power buying and exploiting her and a woman to those like Emiliano Zapata, who fought to possess her and to make her a synonym for liberty and happiness. As Bernabe says to the Sun:

"In town people even say I am crazy. But I d
has done wrong to La Tierra, it has not been
the men with money and power" (372).

The Moon, brother of the Earth, dresses
style, with zoot suit, hat with feather, mult
chain and obviously symbolizes those that reb
and challenged it in their own way, ushering
struggle for justice and human rights.

Finally we have the Sun, the Aztec Sun G
"The Sun rises in the guise of Tonatiuh the A
disk rises above the mountains; it turns to r
golden feathered headdress" (370).

The god Huitzilopochtli, protector of the
a young warrior who each day was reborn. Man
the food of the gods, "chalchiuath" or preciou
blood. For the Aztecs, *the people of the Sun*,
offer their blood and their hearts to the Sun
obligation and a privilege. This is the privi
Bernabe, who dies to revive and fertilize the
it in this manner: "I am the beginning and th
Believe in me, and you shall never die" (373-74

The idea of a continuous cycle of life,
of the Chicano, is one of the main themes in t
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"In town people even say I am crazy. But I do know that if somebody has done wrong to La Tierra, it has not been the pobres. It has been the men with money and power" (372).

The Moon, brother of the Earth, dresses like a "pachuco" 1945 style, with zoot suit, hat with feather, multisoled shoes, and small chain and obviously symbolizes those that rebelled against the system and challenged it in their own way, ushering in a new period in the struggle for justice and human rights.

Finally we have the Sun, the Aztec Sun God:
"The Sun rises in the guise of Tonatiuh the Aztec Sun God. A golden disk rises above the mountains; it turns to reveal a bearded face in a golden feathered headdress" (370).

The god Huitzilopochtli, protector of the Aztecs, was the Sun God, a young warrior who each day was reborn. Man had to nourish him with the food of the gods, "chalchiuath" or precious liquid; that is, human blood. For the Aztecs, the people of the Sun, to capture prisoners and offer their blood and their hearts to the Sun was at the same time an obligation and a privilege. This is the privilege that is promised to Bernabe, who dies to revive and fertilize the Earth. The Sun expresses it in this manner: "I am the beginning and the end of all things. Believe in me, and you shall never die" (373-74).

The idea of a continuous cycle of life, representing the rebirth of the Chicano, is one of the main themes in this play. The transposition of reality, indispensable to any poetic work, permits Valdez to present a combative and artistic message with a protagonist touched by the divinity and the madness and an atmosphere that recreates the cultural baggage of the Mexican-American.

Nepthalí de León, in Chicanos, is quite explicit in his presentations as a Chicano writer:

> "A writer must be the conscience of the day's abuses. Whereas there are many kinds of writers, Chicano writers have one thing in common. We do not remain silent, nor do we accept. We protest the injustices of our times" (10).

León has selected two contemporary historical figures to establish a social and political contrast or counterpoint, Ernesto "Che" Guevara and Manuel: "a character based/ on the life and death/ of Rubén Salazar"[4] (46).

The symbolic motifs that both characters represent are clear and defined, as much so in the presentation that the author makes through each of them as in the action that befits them in the development of the drama.

> "Che is defined as the militant revolutionary who believes in force and insurgence. Manuel doesn't believe in violence nor hatred, but in persuasive conviction; his son, Roberto, according to him will not hate the Gringo, but will repay evil with goodness, 'but he will also tell him that he's doing wrong!'" (69).

This counterpoint between "Che" and Manuel is passed down to the young Chicanos Roberto, Rosendo, Juan, Carmen, Mary Jo, Norma and Pete and later Dolores. The group is divided between these two positions; in addition, they strongly criticize their brothers and sisters who tend to reject the help that some anglos lend the demands. Roberto says:

"In fact, they make (the anglos) themselves uncom when they come over to our side. How many comfor sticking their necks out as some anglos do?" (77)

Dolores presents another angle or point of v "All we do is talk about hate, about killing the system, and crap like that. But do we ever talk selves? Do we ever give encouragement to those t educate themselves?" (81).

The symbolic motifs presented through the ir characters of "Che" and Manuel develop and widen pation of the secondary characters, and the autho imposing a final solution on us: "for each perso her own way to carry on the battle for our salvat

The symbolic motif emphasizes defined positi aforementioned work, instills greater dramatic co make the theme of liberation more real. It carri image to the cause of the underdogs. The struggl dominating system is polarized between the "pen" and "Che," Francisco Madero's idealism and the co as that of Emiliano Zapata. Manuel's son, Robert does not accept for one moment the idea of return violence, as he makes clear to his friends: "No. kill, but it is right to defend yourself and thos

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tend to reject the help that some anglos lend them in their rallies and demands. Roberto says:

"In fact, they make (the anglos) themselves uncomfortable and unpopular when they come over to our side. How many comfortable Chicanos are sticking their necks out as some anglos do?" (77).

Dolores presents another angle or point of view to the discussion: "All we do is talk about hate, about killing the Gringo destroying the system, and crap like that. But do we ever talk about bettering ourselves? Do we ever give encouragement to those that are trying to educate themselves?" (81).

The symbolic motifs presented through the intervention of the characters of "Che" and Manuel develop and widen through the participation of the secondary characters, and the author refrains from imposing a final solution on us: "for each person must construe his or her own way to carry on the battle for our salvation" (12).

The symbolic motif emphasizes defined positions in the aforementioned work, instills greater dramatic content and tends to make the theme of liberation more real. It carries a more universal image to the cause of the underdogs. The struggle against the dominating system is polarized between the "pen" and the "sword," Manuel and "Che," Francisco Madero's idealism and the combative attitude such as that of Emiliano Zapata. Manuel's son, Roberto, like his father does not accept for one moment the idea of returning violence with violence, as he makes clear to his friends: "No. It is not right to kill, but it is right to defend yourself and those you love" (87).

The symbolic motif in *Bernabe* is that the Chicano has regained dignity and pride in his history, culture, and race. In *Chicanos* the symbolic motif polarizes the conflicting currents that are found in every social movement, be it Chicano, Black, or Indian. What de León wishes to highlight is criticism not only of the system, but also of those who constitute a movement. His symbolic motifs are new men, new heroes.

Valdez examines the contemporary reality of the Chicano by mining the vein of mythology. The Azteca-Chichimecas began their migration in search of a promised land in which to create a new life, as ordained by their god, Huitzilopochtli. Bernabe undertakes a search for a new life and unifies his body and soul with his sacrifice. Just as Chicano literature springs from the union of two cultural traditions to arrive at a synthesis of literary expression, so the two studied works look to fix the roots of their content in the sources that feed the search for a social and human identity: the aboriginal inheritance and the new symbols that embody social change.

The use of these symbols on the dramatic situation concentrate with great intensity, thought and meaning, since the audience knows the outline of the plot through the heroic past in *Bernabe* or the near present in *Chicanos*.

The symbols used by both authors are converted to a mode of perception by which Chicanos make order out of chaos, make sense out of the manifold diversity existing in the system in which they live. The symbolic motifs help to explain the world and develop an attitude toward life.

FOOTNOTES

1. Luis Valdez, *Bernabe: A Drama of Moder*
Aztlan: An Anthology of Mexican Americ
Luis Valdez and Stan Steiner (New York,
2. Nephtalí de León, *Chicanos: The Living*
(Denver, 1972), pp. 43-89.
3. See Octavio Paz, "The Sons of La Malinc
Solitude (New York, 1961).
4. See "The National Chicano Moratorium an
Salazar," in *The Chicanos: Mexican Amer*
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1. Luis Valdez, *Bernabe: A Drama of Modern Chicano Mythology*, in *Aztlan: An Anthology of Mexican American Literature*, edited by Luis Valdez and Stan Steiner (New York, 1972), pp. 361-76.

2. Nephtalí de León, *Chicanos: The Living and the Dead*, in *5 Plays* (Denver, 1972), pp. 43-89.

3. See Octavio Paz, "The Sons of La Malinche," in *The Labyrinth of Solitude* (New York, 1961).

4. See "The National Chicano Moratorium and the Death of Ruben Salazar," in *The Chicanos: Mexican American Voices*, edited by Ed Ludwig and James Santibañez (Baltimore, 1971), pp. 235-41.

TOWARDS THE DOCUMENTATION OF MEXICAN AMERICAN LITERATURE IN THE MIDWEST

by

Nicolas Kanellos
Indiana University Northwest
Gary, Indiana

The rediscovery of the Mexican American cul
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Nicolas Kanellos
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Gary, Indiana

The rediscovery of the Mexican American cultural past has been mostly concentrated in studies of the Southwest to date. But the cultural footprints of the Mexican American in the Midwest must also be preserved and studied, especially while we are still rather close to the time period when the area began to be populated by Mexicans. The ephemeral nature of many of these cultural vestiges demands that we act now.

From as early as 1907, when the first Mexicans were employed as seasonal laborers in the Chicago railyards,[1] the Mexican immigrant and the Mexican American migrant began to accommodate themselves to the rigors of the weather and the heavy industry in the Midwest. With the industrial boom that accompanied and followed World War I, they began to enter the Midwest in considerable numbers, recruited from the labor markets of the Southwest to construct railroads, man the steel mills, tend the beet sugar fields, and later build automobiles.[2]

According to Américo Paredes, the "Little Mexicos" that developed in large urban areas, like those in the Midwest, were made up of basically three kinds of newcomers: 1) migrants from the rural Hispanic regions of the Southwest, 2) ex-*braceros* who gave up work in the fields for the more stable factory work, and 3) political refugees and their children who left Mexico during the Revolution.[3] Such a cross-section did not make for a homogeneic community nor produce a monolithic culture, especially while experiencing the trauma of moving from one geographic area to another. Thus, the literature that was produced by the members of these Mexican enclaves was of necessity varied and rich, mirroring the life of the educated, middle and upper classes, on the one hand, and the life of the common laborer and former country dweller on the other. The approach to such a diverse core of written and oral tradition requires, at least, some practical guidelines and orientation. How can the literary documents of Mexicans and Mexican-Americans in the Midwest that were produced from twenty to fifty years ago be located?

A literary profile of the Mexican colony of East Chicago, Indiana, from 1920 through 1950, presents a microcosm of the problem and perhaps practical avenues of investigation in other areas as well. East Chicago, from the 20's on, attracted settlement by each of the three groups that Paredes identified: migrants from the Southwest, ex-*braceros* from Mexico, and political refugees from the Mexican Revolution. In particular, the economic security that they derived from the fast-growing steel industry along Lake Michigan was a prime motivation for settlement in the area. By 1930, almost 10 percent of East Chicago's population was made up of Mexicans, with over a 30 percent concentration of Mexicans in its Indiana Harbor section.[4] Although the majority of the Mexican community consisted of laborers, many of whom had come from a rural setting, intellectuals and professional people were also represented in considerable numbers. Political and religious refugees from the Revolution, these intellectuals, now underemployed as manual laborers, led the community in preserving its cultural and religious identity in what they identified as "exile." Three institutions stood out historically in offering guidance and protection for that culture in exile: the mutualist society, the Church, and the press. Each one, relating exclusively to the Mexican community, helped to

create an alternative and self-sufficient com
as an island or enclave within the larger soci

The mutualist society as an institution
same manner from the very beginning of Mexican
In the early days, East Chicago counted as man
eties which attempted to serve the various soc
political needs of the Mexican community. Und
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ans in its Indiana Harbor section.[4] Although the
community consisted of laborers, many of whom
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mutualist society, the Church, and the press.
lusively to the Mexican community, helped to

create an alternative and self-sufficient community that could subsist as an island or enclave within the larger society.

The mutualist society as an institution has functioned much in the same manner from the very beginning of Mexican settlement in the area. In the early days, East Chicago counted as many as eleven such societies which attempted to serve the various social, religious, and political needs of the Mexican community. Under such names as Cruz Azul Mexicana, Sociedad Benito Juárez, Círculo de Obreros Católicos "San José," Sociedad Católica Mexicana, Sociedad Cuauhtemoc, Sociedad Morelos, Centro México, and Sociedad Hidalgo,[5] they kept alive the ties with Mexico while also establishing relationships with governmental agencies, charitable organizations, and church groups.[6] In their role of preserving the Mexican culture in exile, they sponsored many cultural activities which were of a literary nature.

Among the most active of the organizations of the time was the Círculo de Obreros Católicos "San José," which was founded on April 12, 1925, for the express purposes of raising funds for the construction of a church, promoting the welfare of fellow Mexicans and working for the education of their children, raising funds for a library, and providing wholesome forms of recreation for the members.[7] Like many of the other groups, the Círculo arranged socials at which the poetry of local writers as well as that of such noted poets as Amado Nervo and Luis G. Urbina was recited. Theatrical productions, a library, and a newspaper were also sponsored by the Círculo. Most noteworthy, from our present perspective, was the formation of the Cuadro Dramatico and the publication of the newspaper, *El amigo del hogar*, from 1925 to 1930.[8]

According to the newspaper, the Cuadro Dramatico produced nine plays during the period from March, 1927, to May, 1928.[9] These types of cultural activities could bear important fruit for consideration: theatre manuscripts, receipts, and lists of performances; literary prose and poetry from the newspaper; and manuscripts from local authors as well as valuable editions of work printed in Mexico from the Círculo's library.

While the full-run of *El amigo del hogar* has been salvaged and microfilmed,[10] the library and the literary manuscripts have not as yet been located. Moreover, the newspaper leads us to believe that similar resources may have been produced by the other societies, also. It must be remembered, however, that the membership of any individual society was not likely to represent a true cross-section of the Mexican community. In fact, the organizers of groups like the Círculo de Obreros Católicos "San José," as described by Spencer Leitman:

> "may have been too elitist for the common laborer and too Mexico oriented for the colony's Mexican Americans. . . . In addition, residential proximity to their Mexican American 'compatriots' presented problems. The staff failed to take into consideration the class, education, and regional differences existing within the Mexican American community. Two years after the newspaper's start, the staff was still surprized and pained at the distance between themselves and the Mexican Americans."[11]

It becomes apparent then that the societies and their publications may not assist us tremendously in collecting literary documents relevant to the sector of the community represented by ex-*braceros* and Mexican-

American migrants. Their expression, probably the
all, can to some extent still be collected from ora
Chicago in the form of legends like that of "La Llo
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American migrants. Their expression, probably the most ephimeral of all, can to some extent still be collected from oral tradition in East Chicago in the form of legends like that of "La Llorona de Cline Avenue,"[12] songs, riddles, tales, and ethnic jokes often articulated in *caló*.

An institution that did cut across the boundaries of the diverse Mexican groups, however, was the Church. Our Lady of Guadalupe Church, constructed by and for Indiana Harbor's Mexican colony, became and remains to this date the central institution in the life of the community. Not only the representation of their Catholic faith, but also the mystical symbol of their nationality, this church, named after the patron saint of Mexico, came to be the largest and most visible reminder of Mexican identity. The Our Lady of Guadalupe priests played important organizing roles in community and religious events, publishing sermons in the Spanish language media, and storing the documents which testify to the community's labors in the church files. Priests like Reverend José Lara directed religious plays like "Las Apariciones de la Virgen," coordinated *jamaicas* and bazaars, and even created a small college at the church. Play manuscripts and other such documents were stored for a long time in the church's attic; however, they were destroyed just prior to our gaining access to the attic and the church's files.

By far the most valuable institution for preserving a more permanent record of the culture is the press. In the early years of Mexican settlement in East Chicago there seems to have been a proliferation of periodicals. *El amigo del hogar* has preserved a wealth of poetry, prose, and essays by writers from East Chicago and as far away as Lorain, Ohio. From the flowery prose of Francisco M. Figueroa's political essays to the satirical sketches of the misadventures of Pentaleón Manso,[13] a poor soul who represents the misfortunes of the Mexican in American society, *El amigo del hogar* provided the community not only with an up-to-date account of current events in Mexico and the United States, but also the necessary cultural reinforcements to protect the Mexican identity in exile. Other newspapers, like *La Luz*, *El Evangelista*, *La Chispa*, and *La Avispa*, although organs of various religious groups, also incorporated much cultural material, from historical essays to poetry. Of particular interest is the publication of *La Chispa* by the Mexican Baptist Church. During the Depression it was popularly believed that the Baptists were trying to attract converts from Catholicism with free food and clothing and other services.[14] The Catholic forces, under the leadership of Reverend José Lara, through their own publication *La Avispa*, entered into a polemic with *La Chispa* over this and other matters. One of the notable contributors to *La Avispa* was the rather well known and respected local poet, Jesús Acevedo.

The heir to this tradition today is the very polemic *Latin Times*, the very guardian of local politics that was founded by the children of the publishers of *El amigo del hogar* twenty years ago.[15] To be found in its columns, for instance, is an exchange of satirical *décimas* used in a debate by two local poets, *corridos* based on local events, and much witty commentary on the ups and downs of the local *políticos*. One

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of the major changes, however, is that the newspaper is now published as much as 50 percent in English.

The field is still fertile. A good deal of work remains to be done. The various newspapers must be located and microfilmed, attics must be searched, files of churches and mutualist societies must be surveyed, and the surviving participants in these activities must be interviewed and taped, if possible. Two enemies are harrassing our progress: time and urban renewal. The longer the wait, the more likely it is that the documents will be destroyed, misplaced, or lost forever. The longer the wait, the more likely it is that urban renewal will remove the storehouses of the treasures that are sought. In East Chicago today, the beautiful, victorian style home of Mrs. Figueroa, from whom the author obtained *El amigo del hogar*, is slated for removal. Her attic is full of trunks with mementos from the past. Our Lady of Guadalupe Church is also due for a move. The author has followed the Círculo de Obreros Católicos' Library from one hand to another, from house to trailer in the wake left by urban renewal. Urban renewal as a political arm has functioned in East Chicago to disperse one of the oldest Latin communities in the Midwest, one that forms today probably 40 percent of the population of that city.

FOOTNOTES

1. Paul S. Taylor, *Mexican Labor in the United States: Chicago and the Calumet Region* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1932), p. 28.
2. *Ibid*., p. 277.
3. Américo Paredes, "El folklore de los grupos de origen mexicano en los Estados Unidos," *Folklore Americano*, 14 (1966), p. 150.
4. Taylor, *Mexican Labor*, p. 36.
5. Hilario S. Silva, one of the founders of the Benito Juárez and later Secretary of the Unión Benéfica Mexicana, informed me that only the Cuauhtemoc and the Benito Juárez survived the Depression and the Repatriation, but that about 1945 these two societies merged to form the Union Benéfica Mexicana which is still active today.
6. See Spencer Leitman, "Exile and Union in Indiana Harbor: Los Obreros Católicos 'San José' and *El Amigo del Hogar*, 1925-1930," *Revista Chicano-Riqueña*, 2 (Invierno, 1974), p. 52.
7. *Estatutos del Círculo de Obreros Católicos "San José"* (Indiana Harbor, 1925), p. 16.
8. The first sixteen issues of *El amigo del hogar* are missing; thus, there may have been plays produced by the Cuadro Dramático prior to March, 1927.
9. See my article, "Mexican Community Theatre in a Midwestern City," *LATR*, 7 (Fall, 1973), pp. 43-8.
10. Microfilm copies of *El amigo del hogar* are possessed by the East Chicago Public Library and the Indiana University Northwest Library.

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11. See Leitman, "Exile and Union," p. 52.
12. See Philip Brandt George, "The Ghost of Clime in the Calumet," *Indiana Folklore*, 5 (1972),
13. See Nicolás Kanellos, "Un relato de Azteca (
Chicano-Riqueña, 1 (Primavera, 1973), pp. 5-8
14. My informant in this matter was Mrs. Socorro
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11. See Leitman, "Exile and Union," p. 52.
12. See Philip Brandt George, "The Ghost of Cline Avenue: 'La Llorona' in the Calumet," *Indiana Folklore*, 5 (1972), pp. 56-91.
13. See Nicolás Kanellos, "Un relato de Azteca (Bromeando)," *Revista Chicano-Riqueña*, 1 (Primavera, 1973), pp. 5-8.
14. My informant in this matter was Mrs. Socorro Prieto of East Chicago.
15. Before founding *El amigo del hogar*, Mr. and Mrs. Francisco M. Figueroa ran a newspaper in Guadalajara, Mexico.

THE CHICANO STUDIES PROGRAM IN NORTHERN NEW MEXICO: BROKEN PROMISES AND FUTURE PROSPECTS

by

Alvin Sunseri
University of Northern Iowa
Cedar Falls, Iowa

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STUDIES PROGRAM IN NORTHERN NEW MEXICO:
N PROMISES AND FUTURE PROSPECTS

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Although not as publicized as the revolt of the Blacks, the Southwest today is being swept by a wave of protests by Mexican-Americans who are belatedly flexing their muscles. Led by men like Cesar Chavez, Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales, Jose Gutierrez and, until recently, Reies Tijerina, these people are now rejecting the second-class citizenship that has been their lot following the American conquest of New Mexico in 1846.

This paper is concerned with but one aspect of this phenomenon--the relations between the Anglo-Americans and the Mexican-Americans of Northern New Mexico in the aftermath of the American occupation. For it is in this region that the fears, prejudices, tensions, and anxieties that characterize the conflict in the Southwest today first became, and remain, apparent on a large scale.

The author's interest in the plight of depressed peoples such as the Mexican-Americans dates back to his childhood when as an Italian-American Catholic he was thrust into a rural Louisiana Protestant environment. As a native of New Orleans he had never encountered anti-"Dago" prejudice until his family moved to the town of Abita Springs north of Lake Pontchartrain. There, his teacher asked him one day following the Italo-Ethiopian War, "Alvin, why ain't you Dagoes able to beat those Niggahs?" It was an immediate invitation for every little WASP in class to have a go at him during recess. One consequence was that even at this early date his interest in the plight of the black man was aroused, as he was perceptive enough to realize that Blacks were the only ones who occupied a lower rung on the social ladder in Louisiana than Italian-Americans.

The writer continued to note instances of prejudice for eight years in the army where he served as an integration officer. And, following his return to Louisiana, he was so disturbed by continued conditions of inequality that he left the state in 1956 and embarked upon a teaching career in New Mexico. The writer includes this brief survey of his earlier background as a means of better enabling the reader to discern if he, the observer-writer, is able to maintain the degree of objectivity that forms the razor's edge between scholarly study and emotional polemic.

From the very beginning of his stay in New Mexico the author was shocked by conditions among the masses of Mexican-Americans and Indians. The bigotry and prejudice directed at them by the Anglos equalled that encountered by Blacks in the South and other parts of the country. Unforgotten is the time when members of the Mexican-American track team which he coached had to travel two-hundred miles through west Texas and eastern New Mexico before they could find eating and sleeping accommodations because restaurant and motel owners found excuses not to feed or bed them. Neither was it possible to ignore the scenes of grinding poverty and the instances of human misery in the *barrios* (ghettos) of Albuquerque and the Agua Fria district of Santa Fe as well as in the rural regions of San Miguel and Mora counties.

In addition, the author's historical curiosity was sufficiently aroused by these scenes of distress to prompt him to employ his discipline in an effort to relieve that curiosity and answer the questions that continued to plague him. Why are cultural cleavages of such an extreme nature present in the serene geographic setting that deserves

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to be characterized by social harmony? What are the origins of these instances of grim social injustice and subsequent economic inequality that resulted in such human misery? Can the historian employing the concepts and tools of his craft discover the answers to these questions? Finally, if so, is it possible to gain the comprehension of the past that is essential to a better understanding of the present problem of social conflict between the Anglo and Mexican-American?

The importance of these questions is indisputable, with the last two of particular significance not only to the study of the social cleavages in New Mexico, but to the basic worth of history as a discipline. Particularly does this statement hold true in the face of the attacks being leveled against the discipline by the "new barbarians" who seek only "relevancy," and by those behavioral scientists who are inclined to condemn traditional methodology and goals in favor of the historical analytical technique with emphasis on quantitative measurement. Complete acceptance of this "new history" can only result in the dehumanization of the discipline.

Therefore, as the decade of the sixties emerged, the author became engrossed in the situation in New Mexico, both as a political activist and historian, and by 1963 became aware of a certain militancy beginning to emerge among the Mexican-Americans who were rejecting the inferior status that had been imposed on them since the American occupation.

While he was pleased with this protest movement, the writer could not help but ask himself further questions. Why so long? Why was it not until the fifth generation that the sleeping giant was aroused?

Why did it take a full century for the rebellion of the Chicanos to take place? Aside from the Blacks and Indians, other ethnic groups had gained social, economic, and political equality by the second or third generations. It was with these questions in mind that the writer conducted an examination of New Mexican history since the Anglo occupation which can be summarized as follows.

In 1846 a traditional Mexican-American agrarian society possessed of a unique cultural heritage was conquered by the Anglo-Americans. In the years following the conquest the Mexican-American Ricos, who had dominated the paternalistic society, formed a partnership with the invaders which enabled them to continue exploiting the masses. Pedro Perea, Jose D. Sena, and Miguel Otero, among others, joined with such men as Thomas B. Catron, Stephen B. Elkins, and L. Bradford Prince to form political machines that controlled New Mexico after the Civil War. One reason the Mexican-Americans did not break the power of the ruling class was that they did not possess the educational tools to enable them to do so. The power elite, for obvious reasons, was not interested in providing educational opportunities, and the Federal government, which might have furnished support, refused under pressure to act. This neglect of education continued until the 1960's. Mexican-American children were forced to attend schools that were segregated on a de facto basis or, when allowed to share school accommodations with Anglos, were encouraged to drop out as soon as possible. While some were fortunate enough to attend trade schools, the vast majority were doomed to remain unskilled workers the remainder of their lives.[1]

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Discriminating education persisted in New Mexico until World War II when great numbers of defense workers forced a revision. Before that period many rich Anglos sent their sons to the New Mexico Military Institute, founded in 1891 at Roswell. The *Ricos*, and more financially fortunate Mexican-Americans, sent their sons to St. Michael's College (high school) while both elitist Mexican-Americans and Anglos sent their daughters to Loretto Academy and other private schools.[2] The children of the masses of Mexican-Americans, however, were forced to attend poorly supported and sometimes segregated parochial and public schools whenever the Anglos dominated the community.[3]

The church under Bishop Jean Baptiste Lamy and his successors, while it expressed interest in saving souls, paid scant attention to the socio-economic needs of Mexican-Americans. Beautiful edifices were constructed, but in the midst of social distress. And in the clergy, avenues for advancement were all but closed to Mexican-Americans, dominated as the church was by a white French and WIC (White Irish) Clergy who allowed but a comparatively few of the natives to enter their ranks. Moreover, until recently, those Mexican-Americans who were admitted to the priesthood or brotherhood, were seldom offered the opportunity to attain a high office.[4] If the Church had shown a greater interest in the needs of its members, quite possibly some of the problems that afflict present-day New Mexico might have been avoided.[5]

Those problems are many and serious, some of them common to all American society, others the result of the impact of an alien culture on a native one. Alcoholism is becoming an increasingly major social issue. Drug addiction is high, and the diet of poverty-stricken

Mexican-Americans is yet so poor that it causes mental retardation.[6] The existence of an ethnic caste system has resulted in a sense of defeatism among Mexican-Americans. "Society," says Rodolfo ("Corky") Gonzales, "even when it is trying to be benevolent, . . . is an Anglo controlled society within which the Gringo makes all the major decisions . . . as a result, my people have been politically destroyed and economically exploited."[7]

The Chicanos, however, will no longer tolerate this situation of inequality. They are insisting on rapid changes to correct such conditions of social injustice in all categories of activity.

In a questionnaire submitted to 500 Mexican-American students at the College of Santa Fe and New Mexico Highlands University in the fall of 1971,[8] a question concerned with inequality was included: In your everyday interaction with the Anglo, how frequently do you feel he regards you as an equal? The responses to this question are as follows:

Always - 15.4%
Usually - 26.6%
Sometimes - 37.0%
Seldom - 14.1%
Never - 3.9%
Uncertain - 3.0%

Those who noted instances of inequality were then asked to state why they felt the Anglos seldom or never regarded them as equals. Following are their replies:

Anglos feel superior
Anglos discriminated against Mexican-Americans
Language and cultural barriers
Anglos feel superior and are inclined to discrimin
Anglos are inclined to discriminate and use cultur
All of the above

Far different were the answers when the Chican
often they treated the Anglos as equals, as indicat

Always - 27.9%
Usually - 34.9%
Sometimes - 26.4%
Seldom - 4.7%
Never - 6.1%

Formerly respected figures among the Mexican-A
their "image." An example is Bishop Lamy, immortal
and the subject of a forthcoming biography by Paul
to evaluate the famous church leader, the students

Very favorable - 6.1%
Favorable - 10.8%
Undecided - 27.7%
Unfavorable - 17.6%
Very unfavorable - 13.5%
Don't know him - 24.3%

The consensus of opinion among a large number
concerning Lamy is best expressed by a comment made
viewed him as "unfavorable" that reads: "A typical

poor that it causes mental retardation.[6]
caste system has resulted in a sense of
ericans. "Society," says Rodolfo ("Corky")
trying to be benevolent, . . . is an Anglo
hich the Gringo makes all the major deci-
people have been politically destroyed and

, will no longer tolerate this situation of
sting on rapid changes to correct such
tice in all categories of activity.
bmitted to 500 Mexican-American students at
New Mexico Highlands University in the fall
ned with inequality was included: In your
the Anglo, how frequently do you feel he
The responses to this question are as

Always - 15.4%
Usually - 26.6%
Sometimes - 37.0%
Seldom - 14.1%
Never - 3.9%
Uncertain - 3.0%

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s:

Anglos feel superior - 10.9%
Anglos discriminated against Mexican-Americans - 3.1%
Language and cultural barriers - 0.8%
Anglos feel superior and are inclined to discriminate - 1.6%
Anglos are inclined to discriminate and use cultural barriers - 2.3%
All of the above - 81.3%

Far different were the answers when the Chicanos were asked how often they treated the Anglos as equals, as indicated below:

Always - 27.9%
Usually - 34.9%
Sometimes - 26.4%
Seldom - 4.7%
Never - 6.1%

Formerly respected figures among the Mexican-Americans have lost their "image." An example is Bishop Lamy, immortalized by Willa Cather and the subject of a forthcoming biography by Paul Horgan. When asked to evaluate the famous church leader, the students responded as follows:

Very favorable - 6.1%
Favorable - 10.8%
Undecided - 27.7%
Unfavorable - 17.6%
Very unfavorable - 13.5%
Don't know him - 24.3%

The consensus of opinion among a large number of Chicanos concerning Lamy is best expressed by a comment made by one of those who viewed him as "unfavorable" that reads: "A typical 'colonial lord.'

Upper classmen who looked down on lower classmen (most New Mexicans). A racist who surrounded himself by a French clergy, and did away with all native-born New Mexican priests."

Manuel Armijo, the Mexican Governor at the time of the occupation, has been all but forgotten by the Chicanos or remembered as a villain by a few. When asked to evaluate him, the students gave the following responses:

Very favorable - 1.4%
Favorable - 8.3%
Undecided - 34.7%
Unfavorable - 6.9%
Very unfavorable - 7.0%
Don't know him - 41.7%

On the other hand, the younger Mexican-Americans expressed the following praise for Cesar Chavez, Reies Tijerina, and Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales:

	Reies Tijerina	Cesar Chavez	"Corky" Rodolfo Gonzales
Very favorable	18.4%	36.1%	21.1%
Favorable	44.4%	38.1%	22.2%
Undecided	12.3%	10.3%	23.3%
Unfavorable	10.5%	2.1%	6.7%
Very unfavorable	4.4%	13.4%	4.4%
Don't know him	4.4%	--	20.0%
Right, but uses wrong tactics	6.6%	--	2.3%

To be respected, however, the Chicanos b
establish a cultural identity enabling them t
They feel that they must be taught their hist
grams dealing with La Raza and the Mexican-Am
over, they insist, the Anglo-American must en
and disdain that has characterized Anglo-Ameri
Mexican-Americans since the moment of first co
two ethnic groups. The Chicano is angry, and
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insists Gonzales, "is more white fathers . . .
. . . I don't think we'll ever be violent exce
continued, "but if we must defend ourselves, w

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10.5%	2.1%	6.7%
4.4%	13.4%	4.4%
4.4%	--	20.0%
6.6%	--	2.3%

To be respected, however, the Chicanos believe they must first establish a cultural identity enabling them to respect themselves. They feel that they must be taught their history, and they demand programs dealing with La Raza and the Mexican-American heritage. Moreover, they insist, the Anglo-American must end his attitude of contempt and disdain that has characterized Anglo-American treatment of the Mexican-Americans since the moment of first confrontation between the two ethnic groups. The Chicano is angry, and it is not beyond possibility that he might resort to violence. "The last thing we need," insists Gonzales, "is more white fathers . . . what we need is brothers . . . I don't think we'll ever be violent except in self defense," he continued, "but if we must defend ourselves, we will."[9]

Realizing the seriousness of the situation, in the fall of 1971 a start was made in the right direction at New Mexico Highlands University following a Chicano student rebellion in the spring of 1970. The cause of the troubles on that campus was the appointment of Dr. Charles Graham as president to succeed Dr. Thomas Donnelly, longtime president who was retiring. Graham, a member of the faculty at Wisconsin State University at Whitewater, had absolutely no experience with Chicanos or the needs of Mexican-Americans. Consequently, the Mexican-American students, constituting 54 percent of the campus population, initiated a rebellion that subsided only after Graham agreed to withdraw his acceptance of the presidency. Professor Ralph Carlisle Smith, an Anglo who had the trust of the Chicanos, served as interim president while the Board of Regents searched for a more acceptable candidate. Finally, they settled on a *Chicano*, Dr. Frank Angel, Jr., a member of the faculty at the University of New Mexico.

Almost immediately Dr. Angel announced he "did not plan to stand on tradition and that the needs of the Mexican-Americans, or *Chicano*, community are among the most important items on his agenda."[10] He then authorized the formulation of an ethnic and *Chicano* studies program designed to accomplish the following:

(1) Improvement of the fluency of *Chicanos* in Spanish through courses which are meant to deal with the unique language situation of the *Chicano*.

(2) Stress on the history and heritage of the *Chicano* rather than treating it as a subtopic under Anglo oriented courses and curricula.

(3) The use of *Chicano* teachers insofar as possible because they can relate to the students better both culturally and ethnically.

(4) Insistence that the *Chicano* student be given a good well-rounded and relevant overview of what the *Chicano* situation actually was and is today.

In attaining this goal the student is required to have a basic bilingual ability and to take at least 48 hours, including such courses as follows:

(1) An Introduction to *Chicano* Studies that is interdisciplinary in nature and which studies the historical and contemporary development of the *Chicano* community.

(2) A History of the Southwest that stresses the northern movement of the Spanish and Mexican people into the present-day United States,

with emphasis on the conflict between the races tha
since the Anglo-American conquest of 1846.

(3) A course entitled *Chicano* Politics which se
Chicano political opinion, voting behavior, and poli

(4) A course in Southwestern Minorities which
behavior of *Chicanos*, Indians and Blacks--designed
they have been exploited by the Anglo-Americans.

(5) *Chicano* Participation in Social Welfare Sy
is intended to develop the skills enabling *Chicanos*
grams that will positively affect social developmen
communities.

(6) A course entitled *Economics of Poverty* tha
relationship between economics and racism and furthe
actual and proposed policies for dealing with povert
barrios of the Southwest.

One of the most important of the programs is
Philosophic Thought, which correlates 20th century
with the development of *Chicano* thought in the Unite
This is the course that is particularly designed to
identity." Finally, there are courses in *Chicano* ar
Chicano graphics, the *Chicano* theater, drama, litera
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with emphasis on the conflict between the races that has taken place since the Anglo-American conquest of 1846.

(3) A course entitled Chicano Politics which serves to analyze Chicano political opinion, voting behavior, and political groups.

(4) A course in Southwestern Minorities which shows the political behavior of Chicanos, Indians and Blacks--designed to illustrate how they have been exploited by the Anglo-Americans.

(5) Chicano Participation in Social Welfare Systems, a course that is intended to develop the skills enabling Chicanos to introduce programs that will positively affect social developments in Chicano communities.

(6) A course entitled Economics of Poverty that stresses the relationship between economics and racism and further evaluates the actual and proposed policies for dealing with poverty conditions in the barrios of the Southwest.

One of the most important of the programs is entitled Chicano Philosophic Thought, which correlates 20th century Mexican philosophy with the development of Chicano thought in the United States Southwest. This is the course that is particularly designed to achieve "cultural identity." Finally, there are courses in Chicano art, Chicano drawing, Chicano graphics, the Chicano theater, drama, literature, all of which are revolutionary in nature inasmuch as for the first time the Mexican-Americans of the Southwest are made aware of the existence of such cultural contributions on the part of Chicanos, further enabling them to see that this ethnic group has contributed extensively to the main body of world literature. Particularly emphasized is the fact that while the *Chicano* ethnic group is an outgrowth of Latin-American cultural development, there is present and always has been a unique subcultural development. Northern New Mexico formed as a consequence a geographic isolation and the continuing process of *mestizaje*.[11]

Now in its third year, the ethnic studies program which includes native American, Black, and *Chicano* studies, has experienced a great deal of controversy with charges and counter-charges being hurled by defenders and opponents of the program. The defenders insist that the university must take up new social, economic, and political roles if the *Chicanos* are to be made aware of the projects designed to grant them equality that can only be taught them by educated *Chicano* students. The critics of the program insist that the "academic excellence" of the university is threatened by the overemphasis on social work. They point out, for example, that the science enrollment now includes but 40 students of the 2,300 enrolled at the university.[12] In response, defenders insist their opponents employ the term "academic excellence" as the Watergate gang employed the term "national security" to justify any action on their part in defense of their "vested interests."[13] In fairness to the supporters of the ethnic studies program, it should be noted that a leading proponent of the program, Benny E. Flores, a *Chicano* member of the Board of Regents, has stated that he does not believe that students should be educated solely in ethnic studies at the risk of becoming deficient in other academic fields.[14]

The moment of extreme crisis came in September of 1973 when the students staged demonstrations and occupied academic and administrative buildings when they felt the promises made in 1970 were once again

being broken. In retaliation, the administrat
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lt the promises made in 1970 were once again

being broken. In retaliation, the administration closed down the ethnic studies program offices. Not to be intimidated by such actions, Professor William Lux, the director, ordered replacement keys to be made and reopened the offices. Unfortunately, however, in the midst of the crisis he lost one of his close associates, the coordinator of the program, Pedro Rodriques who, after being refused tenure, transferred to Stanford University. However, federal funds for H.E.W. were increased by 30 percent, in part the result of the support of Blacks in key positions in Washington.[15] Consequently, the floundering program was revived, and today is in a very viable state. Over 65 percent of the student body now includes *Chicanos* with another 10 percent made up of Blacks and native Americans. Moreover, the staff has increased from three to ten members. The only drawback, according to Flores, is that the program in native American studies is, in his opinion, yet to be fully developed.[16]

It is difficult to evaluate the success or failure of the Highlands ethnic studies project. From the perspective of the Anglo administrators and faculty members who are experiencing drops in enrollment in their disciplines and fields, the program is a failure, as it is, as stated before, threatening their concept of academic excellence. To the formulators of the *Chicano* movement, however, it is a grand success. *Chicanos* are being taught to go to the people and educate them in the oral history tradition; teachers are being trained to offer *Chicano* courses at all grade levels; vital records are being gathered and placed in the archives; library holdings are being expanded to include more works dealing with *Chicano* studies; cooperative programs with Blacks and native Americans are being encouraged; jobs are available, in a time of job shortages, for graduates of the studies program; and finally, the Mexican-Americans are satisfied with the prospect of the University becoming totally committed to the needs and interests of minority groups. As Dr. Willie Sanchez, Assistant to the President for External Affairs, has noted, under Dr. Donnelly only 5 of 130 faculty members were Chicano. Then "there seemed to be a ceiling above which they the Chicanos could not rise . . ." Now that the University has taken up new social, moral, and political roles, as Dr. Angel promised, the University has ceased to be a "pallid reflection . . . of the University of New Mexico . . ."[17]

In conclusion, the promises of education and cultural preservation first made by General Stephen Watts Kearny to the people of New Mexico at Las Vegas, which afterwards were so often broken by Anglo-Americans, are finally being kept. The prospects for continued success, however, are dependent on continued financial support by the Federal government and a willingness to compromise on the part of both Mexican and Anglo Americans.

FOOTNOTES

1. Walter Fogel, "Education and Income of Mexica
Southwest," Mexican-American Study Project, A
Angeles, 1965), p. 8; Interviews with Mexican
and Las Vegas, New Mexico, Summer, 1969, 1970
1973.
2. J. R. Kelly, History of the New Mexico Milita
1941 (Albuquerque, 1953), passim; graduates o
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sons to the institute; Alvin R. Sunseri, "St.
La Salle Auxiliary, XXXIX (Spring, 1960), pas
Gabriel, The Christain Brothers in the United
(New York, 1948), pp. 472-77.
3. Interviews with Mexican-Americans, Santa Fe a
Mexico, Summer, 1969, 1970, Fall 1971, Summer,
4. It was not until recently that a Mexican-Amer
Chancellor. He had since married and is now
in Santa Fe.
5. Indeed, in response to a petition from the Al
Projects for supporting funds, Archbishop Jam
the Archdiocese of Santa Fe had no money for
Episcopalian Church granted the project $40,00
lost the support of Episcopalians in New Mexic
6. Interview with Dr. John M. Lucas, resident psy
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2. J. R. Kelly, *History of the New Mexico Military Institute, 1891-1941* (Albuquerque, 1953), passim; graduates of N.M.M.I. rose to prominent positions in the State and were inclined to send their sons to the institute; Alvin R. Sunseri, "St. Michael's College," *La Salle Auxiliary*, XXXIX (Spring, 1960), passim; Brother Angelus Gabriel, *The Christain Brothers in the United States, 1848-1948* (New York, 1948), pp. 472-77.
3. Interviews with Mexican-Americans, Santa Fe and Las Vegas, New Mexico, Summer, 1969, 1970, Fall 1971, Summer, 1973.
4. It was not until recently that a Mexican-American was appointed Chancellor. He had since married and is now a practicing attorney in Santa Fe.
5. Indeed, in response to a petition from the *Alianza for Poverty Projects* for supporting funds, Archbishop James Peter Davis stated the Archdiocese of Santa Fe had no money for such a project. The Episcopalian Church granted the project $40,000 and subsequently lost the support of Episcopalians in New Mexico and West Texas.
6. Interview with Dr. John M. Lucas, resident psychologist, New Mexico State Hospital, Las Vegas, New Mexico, July 5, 1973. See

also, Jack Shepherd, "Smack City," Harper's Magazine, February, 1974, pp. 32-5. According to some prominent New Mexicans, however, the article exaggerated the extent of the drug problem in Las Vegas. Nevertheless, it is a critical one for both Mexican-Americans and Anglos.

7. The Denver Post, May 13, 1969, Supplement, p. 2.

8. Questionnaires distributed among students at New Mexico Highlands University and the College of Santa Fe, Fall and Winter, 1971-1972. The questionnaires were developed and processed under the direction of Professor Robert E. Kramer, Head of the Social Research Center at the University of Northern Iowa.

9. The Denver Post, May 13, 1969, Supplement, pp. 1-2.

10. New York Times, September 19, 1971, Sec. 1, p. 63.

11. New Mexico Highlands University Bulletin, 1972; New Mexico Highlands University Bulletin, 1973-1975; Information in a letter to the author from Pedro Rodrigues, Coordinator of Chicano Studies, New Mexico Highlands University, November 14, 1972. Interview with Professor William Lux, Assistant Academic Dean and Director of Ethnic and Chicano Studies, New Mexico Highlands University, April 2, 1974.

12. Interview with Benny E. Flores, member of the Board of Regents at New Mexico Highlands University. Flores is a Chicano who graduated from Highlands and is now an attorney in Las Vegas. He attempts, as much as possible, to play a moderating role in the campus conflict.

13. Interview with Professor William Lux, Assi
Affairs, and Director of the Ethnic and Ch
New Mexico Highlands University, April 2,

14. Information in a letter to the author from
member of the Board of Regents at New Mexi
April 8, 1974.

15. Interview with Professor Lux, April 2, 197

16. Flores, Letter, April 8, 1974.

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15. Interview with Professor Lux, April 2, 1974.

16. Flores, Letter, April 8, 1974.

17. *New York Times*, September 19, 1971, Sec. 1, p. 63.

Part II

THE NATIVE-AMERICAN EXPERIENCE

The three essays presented here deal with the same questions raised in Part I, except the approach is different. Nationalism as a source of identity and awareness is the major theme of Peter Iverson's paper. The insistence by Navajos that their language be preserved illustrates their concern for preserving awareness and their unique identity. Thoughtful reflection raises the question, is Navajo nationalism any different from Black nationalism or among Mexican-Americans in Aztlan. On the other hand, are there any similarities in the quest for national identity.

The second essay deals with the impact of urbanization on identity. While some may want to quarrel with James H. Stewart's analysis and conclusions, his essay does indicate that in an urban setting ". . . most [Native-Americans] experience an increased positive sense of identity both personal and social. . . ." The question of multiple identity is raised, and the parallels of this issue for other racial minorities is obvious.

Anna Lee Stensland discusses the importance of identity and awareness from a literary perspective as it relates to Native-Americans. An awareness of Indian literature and heritage for Anglos and exposure to Indian myth and legend are seen as critical components for classroom teachers involved in American literature.

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The three essays in this section illustrate the point that identity can and does mean different things to different people.

THE RISE OF NAVAJO NATIONALISM:

DINÉ CONTINUITY WITHIN CHANGE

by

Peter Iverson
Fellow
Newberry Library
Chicago, Illinois

Some time ago the author of this essay
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Of course, Curtis was wrong. The Navajos
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Some time ago the author of this essay encountered a photograph by Edward Curtis, perhaps the most well-known photographer of Native American life. Curtis had entitled it "The Vanishing Race." The photograph showed a group of Navajos, on horseback, each figure less distinct, with the final rider barely visible in the distance. The image became one of Curtis' famous works, probably in part because it so typified the prevalent American attitude early in this century that Native Americans would no longer be unique and important participants in American life.[1]

Of course, Curtis was wrong. The Navajos were perhaps the worst choice he could have made for a prototype of "the vanishing race." They are today the most populous of any Native American people, and they possess as well the largest land base. While Navajo census estimates are notoriously underestimated, it seems clear that the Navajo population now is easily in excess of 130,000. The Navajo Nation's area is 25,000 square miles, covering a large portion of northeastern Arizona, a part of northwestern New Mexico, and a small section of southeastern Utah. The usual comparison is with the state of West Virginia, which is slightly smaller.

While such statistics are impressive, they do not begin to indicate the degree to which Diné, or The People,[2] have maintained a way of life, flexible and changing, which is clearly and identifiably Navajo. Moreover, as Clyde Kluckhohn and Dorothea Leighton wrote in 1946 in their classic study, The Navaho,[3] a steadily growing "tribal" or "national" consciousness has arisen among The People. Kluckhohn and Leighton saw it only as a "beginning" but noted that "The People are becoming increasingly conscious of common background, common problems, a common need to unite to protect their interests against the encroachments of whites."[4]

There are two critical, interlocking questions to be faced, if not answered: what are the unifying features of Navajo life and what is it about this stage of Navajo life which has caused the growth of Navajo nationalism? The first question is certainly less the main focus of this study than the second. Yet it is an important, necessary one. Without a certain degree of agreement and unity among Navajos, the development of Navajo nationalism would not have been possible. Anthropologists and other students of Navajo history and culture have been impressed with the flexible, borrowing, adaptive quality of The People. It seems as though the course of Navajo history has seen a steady persistence of what Evon Vogt in 1961 in his summary article, "The Navaho," called the incorporative nature of Navajo culture.[5] Diné willingness, even eagerness, to change has been coupled with what Vogt termed a "resistant institutional core," "composed of systems of social relations, ecological adjustments, and values forming a coherent and distinctive Navajo pattern."[6]

To these unifying features at the local or community level must be added the factors contributing to a Navajo national feeling. Again, to quote Kluckhohn and Leighton, these elements include:

> ". . . a common language; a common designation for themselves as The People as distinct from all others; a cultural heritage which is, *in general*, the same; a territory with a certain topographical unity, where the occupants are mostly Navahos and where many mountains and

> other natural features are enshrined in a common my
> that almost all the People constitute a single gove
> tive unit with a single elected council for the who

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other natural features are enshrined in a common mythology; the fact that almost all the People constitute a single governmental administrative unit with a single elected council for the whole tribe . . ."[7] In sum, language, heritage, land, and government are the basic forces. Of the four, government is surely the most recent and the most imposed. Only recently, in the Navajo way, has it become more accepted. This is in part due to time: the Tribal Council from a Navajo perspective is fairly young; only in this year (1974) did it celebrate its fiftieth anniversary. And only lately has it truly had the potential and the power to matter to Navajos at the local level.

To understand Navajo nationalism we must come to terms with some of the ironic consequences of greater Anglo[8] encroachment and demand on once isolated Navajo land and resources. As Diné have come into increasing contact with Anglo institutions, ideas, and pressures, they have had as well ample reason to re-enforce their designation as The People.[9] Moreover, some of the very elements of Anglo life which might seem to be the most threatening to Navajo life have bolstered the building of a national Navajo state. For example, precisely because technology has altered the economic and social network at the local level has the Navajo Nation been perceived as a necessity.

Technology and white demands, often couched in ethnocentric terms, have threatened, and thus unified, most Navajos and caused them to turn to the national Navajo government as the only ally potentially strong enough to counter alien forces.[10] As distinct minority members of the states and, to an even greater degree, minority members of the United States, the Navajos cannot hope to influence significantly state and

United States actions. As Richard Goodwin recently noted:

> "The nation is not merely a convenient form of social organization, but an aspect of individual existence which fulfills irrevocable human needs. If alternative sources of identity, of power, and of self-mastery continue to crumble, we can expect national feelings to intensify."[11]

The creation of the Navajo Nation must be viewed of course in the light of earlier developments in Navajo history. Of particular importance has been the time at which certain conflicts with outside societies have occurred. In 1868 the Navajos signed one of the last domestic treaties with the United States government. While they had been forced to make the Long Walk in 1864 to Bosque Redondo, New Mexico, they were thus allowed to return and maintain at least part of their homeland, rather than being moved to a new land with consequent cultural destruction and disintegration. The People consolidated their land base through late nineteenth and early twentieth century additions before the value of Navajo mineral resources[12] became realized. In addition, Navajo land was not sought for agricultural purposes nor was it near an area of large Anglo population growth. This land base and this relative isolation allowed for the growth and development of a working, changing Navajo tradition in the post-European initial contact era. It permitted the creation of a kind of common heritage which has made the assimilation of Navajo people and Navajo life into the larger American society not only unlikely, but from the standpoint of most Navajos, undesirable.

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This heritage may be analyzed profitably for the purposes of a full consideration of Navajo nationalism. To do so properly, it is essential to establish some sense of Navajo history as Navajos have perceived it. For it is The People's view of the past which naturally has so strongly influenced Navajo actions of the present. Such a perspective, however, is not easily gained. Any person interested in Navajo (or Native American) history quickly discovers the problem of evidence. There is no denying the central importance of Navajo testimony, yet great difficulty in obtaining it, let alone in accurate form. Not only have non-Navajos by and large written Navajo history, they have written down the records needed for the history. And almost without exception, these accounts are in English.

To the uninitiated, the vitality of the Navajo language over the years may come as a surprise. While an increasing percentage of Navajos are bilingual, there is little question that Navajo remains the first language, the preferred form of communication for most people. A recent study estimated that almost three of every four Navajo six year olds do not know enough English to do first grade work in English.[13] Moreover, Diné bizaad is a very different language from English; as Robert W. Young notes, "although Navajo and English are markedly divergent phonologically, the difference is extreme in terms of their morphological and structural features."[14] Finally, Navajo is almost entirely an oral language. Written forms of Navajo have developed,[15] but for the most part Navajos have not utilized them. Missionaries, anthropologists, and Bureau of Indian Affairs personnel, most of them Anglo, have employed written Navajo for their own specialized purposes.[16]

Navajo-initiated programs are of most recent origin, and though exciting and promising in scope and direction, have yet to have widespread effect.[17] Written Navajo history in Navajo remains a rarity.

Fortunately, three developments in the twentieth century have allowed all to share in the Navajo perspective to some degree. White anthropologists and other observers have produced translations from testimony given by Navajo informants. To a large extent this work has centered on ceremonialism and Navajo social structure. As William Adams has remarked, such matters as the Navajo economy have been virtually ignored.[18] In addition, a body of Navajo oral history survives, passed down by generations about how The People came to be and about significant events in the history of Diné. Navajos, particularly at Rough Rock Demonstration School and Navajo Community College, have started to publish accounts of their own history. With the growth of the Navajo tribal government, Navajo-authored and authorized accounts have issued increasingly as well from the Navajo national capital, Window Rock. New trends in film making also have been encouraged, including John Adair and Sol Worth's pioneering work in helping Navajos to produce and develop their own movies.[19]

These developments lead one to a very central question about much of this material and its applicability to the writing of Navajo history. The following point is raised not to doubt the sincerity, dedication, or deep knowledge of and respect for Navajo history and culture displayed by many Anglo observers of Navajo life. But ultimately, one must come to appreciate the limitations of the outsider's view. In the Navajo Nation, the distinction between the non-Navajo and the Navajo is

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To be sure, this is a problem with all history, but the cross-cultural transmission in the Navajo situation accentuates the problem. Translation from Navajo to English is not only difficult, it is naturally subject to the whims and biases of the translator. And oral history, even transcribed directly in the Navajo, is subject to its own special limitations. Oral historians, though, are beginning to realize the importance of recording not only voices, but people's mannerisms, gestures, movements. The portrait which thus emerges may be a more complete and therefore more true representation. This written form of transcription can be provided in a way for the reader to see and hear the speaker as he communicates.[20] Given the central importance of oral communication in Navajo life, such a creation is most notable. "Much is written down in books," said a wise old Navajo gentleman, "but that book will never say a prayer for you."[21]

Even Navajo-authored work has not always been entirely free from Anglo influence. For example, the Navajo Times, the official tribal newspaper, has usually had an Anglo editor.[22] Navajo Community College

Press publications have been affected by the input and perspectives of Anglos.[23] This is not to say that the Navajo contribution to these publications has been negligible. Far from it. Anglo editors of the Navajo Times are tribal employees whose editorial stance tends to be sympathetic to the current tribal administration. Navajos have consistently had responsible positions on the newspaper. In the end, Diné are the publishers of Navajo Community College Press volumes. The point is that outsiders not sufficiently familiar with the Navajo scene may use these sources uncritically, and misleading interpretations may then result.

Nonetheless, these sources are still among the very best we have for contemporary Navajo history. They do largely succeed in providing more of a Navajo perspective than previously was available. They also are written primarily for a Navajo audience (though in English for the most part) and have won a growing audience.[24] In many instances, they may be regarded as outside the traditional academic western historical pattern. But without them, our view is woefully incomplete and inadequate. With them, our perspective may still be incomplete, but it is at least vastly enhanced.

Three final elements in the difficulty of studying Navajo history properly deserve explicit consideration here. One is the degree of change that has taken place in certain aspects of Navajo life during the past one hundred years, with an acceleration in some areas in the past thirty years. A synchronic picture of The People will not do. As Adams puts it: "When have conditions ever been 'normal' for the Navajos? For one hundred years we've been trying to photograph on slow

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film people who won't hold still long enough to give us a sharp image."[25] The flexible quality of Navajo life is crucial as well, for it has allowed over time for striking variety in the way Navajos have lived and the kind of perspectives they have developed. This tendency has surely increased recently, and with it the popularity of such phrases as "it's up to him."[26] There are many Navajo viewpoints, certainly more than merely "traditional" and "modern." While the use of the term "Navajo" is unavoidable, it should be clearly understood that a monolithic analysis is simply wrong. This is not to deny a central point made by Mary Shepardson: Navajos are more likely to share common goals and differ over how to achieve them. The difference is likely to be over means, not ends.[27] A final matter is the size of the Navajo Nation. Given its enormity, and the emphases of many anthropological studies, many important chroniclers of the Navajo experience have chosen a more restricted area within which they could confine their observations and cultivate the good will of potential informants. Larger generalizations about all Navajos do not always follow correctly from these limited analyses.[28] There are still important variations in the different areas of the Nation.

Navajo personal ties with an area are based on associations and relationships with people and on traditional land use rights. The individual relationship with the land, and to a broader extent with the forces of Nature, forms a basic part of the search for harmony which is a focal point in Navajo life. What the Navajos have done with their land and how they have chosen to utilize its varied resources has had a fundamental impact on the development of the Navajo Nation.[29] Thus, after an initial examination of earlier Navajo history, one must turn to an evaluation of the process of land use by Diné. By land use, here, is meant not merely what is grown or raised (or not grown or not raised) but how the land is perceived.[30] This attitude, land ethic if you will,[31] may be readily scrutinized during two distinct stages.

The first includes the evolution of traditional Navajo land usage and the growing complications with this usage which eventually disrupted established economic and cultural patterns. These patterns revolved around both the raising of livestock and the growing of agricultural crops whose utilization contributed to economic reciprocity and self-sufficiency, and to harmony with the universe.[32] For a time, the continued growth of the Navajo population coincided with the additions made to the Navajo land base. Yet the increase of Navajo demands upon the land, marked especially by larger numbers of sheep, did not cease with the essential establishment of reservation boundaries. This period culminated in the economic and cultural disruption of the stock reduction era[33] and created a permanent issue: what portion of The People could continue with the sheep and goat raising life of old?[34]

The discovery of valuable mineral deposits on Navajo land added a pivotal element to the debate over land utilization. Outside pressure quickly intensified for "development" of these resources. This changed pattern of circumstances led to a change of activities, and eventually to an "increased rate of non-reciprocal allocations."[35]

In recent years, varied approaches to economic development have been attempted. The key question is to what extent can Navajos control use of their considerable resources for their own benefit? Black Mesa

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coal strip mining and the Four Corners power plant illustrate the mixed blessings which "development" may bring. Spurred by the pressing need to alleviate massive unemployment and by the specter of nuclear power making coal resources obsolete, the Navajos made leasing agreements which, from today's perspective, seem to many to be questionable from an economic standpoint. Navajo-controlled industries have not always fared better,[36] but in some instances have been unqualified successes.[37]

Royalties from mineral exploitation in the 1950's swelled the tribal treasury and thereby changed the power and function of Navajo tribal government. The Navajo Tribal Council took on new standing and the Council chairman became a Navajo national leader. Council representatives are often caught between local needs and Navajo national priorities, but there has been a seemingly irreversible flow of power to Window Rock. Not all Navajos are pleased by this trend; recent attempts have been made to divert revenue sharing funds to the local (chapter) level. But the tribal government still appears not subject to hopeless factionalism or to financial incapacity. Its foreign, imposed structure has become incorporated to a great extent into Navajo life. Through it the Navajos have sought and must seek economic self-sufficiency and political sovereignty.[38]

A generally neglected area of inquiry is the role which law, lawyers, and legal assistance have played in promoting that self-sufficiency and sovereignty. The formal emphasis on Navajo nationalism coincides with the hiring of The People's first attorney, Norman Littell, after the second World War. Henry Dobyns' view of the positive effects of tribal attorney actions is certainly applicable to the close, if not always cordial, relationship between the tribal government and its employed counsel.[39] The impact of attorneys on Navajo life has not, however, been limited to the influence of the tribal attorney's office. *Dinébeiina Nahiilna Be Agaditaha* ("attorneys who contribute to the economic revitalization of the people"), the legal services program in the Navajo Nation, has been most important in its short history because of its promotion of sovereignty (as in the recent McClanahan case),[40] economic alternatives (as in the Pinon cooperative),[41] and individual rights (especially in consumer protection). In its various efforts, DNA has not always won favor with the Navajo national government, particularly during the administration of Raymond Nakai. By representing individual Navajos, it has often represented them against the tribe itself; in so doing, it has revealed an intriguing problem in the growth of Navajo nationalism: the relationship between Navajo national growth and individual Navajo well-being.

Perhaps nowhere is the growth of Navajo nationalism more apparent and nowhere has it been more strongly emphasized than in the area of formal education. This traditional testing ground of Navajo and Anglo values and goals has been the source of conflict ever since the Treaty of 1868 provided for the establishment of a school class and a teacher for every thirty Navajo children. Both the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Navajos over time have had various views about the form and substance of schooling. Beginning in the mid-1960's with the creation of community-controlled schools[42] in several isolated locales, Navajos have started to participate at new levels of responsibility for the

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education of their children. The recent creation of a Navajo national division of education is a logical outgrowth from the experience gained at these pioneering institutions; former Rough Rock Demonstration School principal Dillon Platero, for example, now heads this division. Platero and his associates are now moving to broaden the functions and power of this national department, and not unexpectedly are encountering some resistance.[43] As they do so, they are starting to ask fundamental questions about the nature of education needed for Navajo children.

Surely education is one potential means for obtaining and maintaining harmony within one's self and with one's world. But it would contribute toward it rather than entirely provide it. Curing disharmony is primarily the function of what we might term Navajo religion--an inadequate term for the complex system of beliefs held by most Navajos. Medicine, as one understands the term, would be included within Navajo religion. And in this area, there have been growing efforts to develop cooperation between traditional Navajo ways and Anglo medical practices. While still in its initial stages, there may be seen here a final example of Navajo continuity within change: shared analysis between Navajo singer and Anglo doctor, growing use of Anglo medical facilities, and expanding Navajo national involvement in providing better medical care for The People, as evidenced in the Navajo Health Authority, without a denial of the validity and value of traditional ways.[44]

The Navajos thus persist in their determination to remain Navajo. Navajo nationalism is really the latest scene in an ongoing drama in which The People assert their uniqueness. A resolution passed in 1969 by the Navajo Tribal Council's Advisory Committee calls for the use of the term "Navajo Nation." The concluding portion reads:

> The Deneh--the Navajo People existed as a distinct political, cultural, and ethnic group long before the establishment of the States of Arizona, Colorado, New Mexico, and Utah, and
>
> The Government of the United States of America recognized this fact and entered into treaties with the sovereign Navajo Tribe, and down through the years both the Congress of the United States and the Supreme Court of the United States have recognized the inherent right of the Navajo People to govern themselves, and
>
> When the geographical area occupied by the Navajo People was incorporated into the union of states of the United States of America, no one asked the Navajo People if they wished to be so included, and
>
> It is becoming increasingly difficult for the Navajo People to retain their identity and independence, and
>
> It appears essential to the best interests of the Navajo People that a clear statement be made to remind Navajos and non-Navajos alike that both the Navajo People and Navajo lands are, in fact, separate and distinct.[45]

This history, then, is a study of the effort to maintain Navajo separation and distinction: an assertion which has meant the creation of the Navajo Nation.

FOOTNOTES

1. D'Arcy McNickle notes the same element of "i
captured by the popular 1915 statue, "The End
McNickle, Native American Tribalism, p. 3.
2. Diné, meaning literally "The People," is what
themselves. It is a common term used by Ath
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is a term used by Navajos for themselves when
and of course is the phrase used by non-Navaj
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through the work of David Warren, an advisory
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Library. See his "Cultural Studies in Indian
1972)," an unpublished position paper for Res
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Santa Fe. Director of the Center for the His
Indian, D'Arcy McNickle has also influenced
Native American Tribalism: Indian Survivals
York, 1973) called the author's attention to
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FOOTNOTES

1. D'Arcy McNickle notes the same element of "inevitable doom" captured by the popular 1915 statue, "The End of the Trail." McNickle, Native American Tribalism, p. 3.

2. Diné, meaning literally "The People," is what Navajos call themselves. It is a common term used by Athabaskan peoples and is thus not really satisfactory for solitary utilization. "Navajo" is a term used by Navajos for themselves when English is spoken, and of course is the phrase used by non-Navajos. "The Rise of Navajo Nationalism: Diné Continuity Within Change" is as well the title of the author's dissertation now being completed for the History Department, the University of Wisconsin-Madison. The author first encountered the concept of continuity within change through the work of David Warren, an advisory board member of the Center for the History of the American Indian, the Newberry Library. See his "Cultural Studies in Indian Education (September, 1972)," an unpublished position paper for Research and Cultural Studies, Development Section, Institute of American Indian Art, Santa Fe. Director of the Center for the History of the American Indian, D'Arcy McNickle has also influenced my thinking. His Native American Tribalism: Indian Survivals and Renewals (New York, 1973) called the author's attention to the work of Frederik Barth. Frederik Barth, "On the Study of Social Change," American Anthropologist, 69, No. 6 (1967), rpt. as "Studying Social Change" in The Meaning of Culture, ed. Morris Freilich (Lexington,

Massachusetts, 1972), pp. 239-52, pays particular attention to institutionalization as the key phase of change. See Jane Christian, "The Navajo: A People in Transition," *Southwestern Studies*, 2, Nos. 2-3 (Fall, 1964; Winter, 1965). Christian's work introduced the author to the problem of Navajo nationalism and many of the ideas brought forth in this essay have clearly been influenced by her perceptive analysis. The author's interest in Navajo history began with the stories told him by his mother's father, a principal in Indian Service schools in the Navajo area during the 1930's and early 1940's. The author taught at Navajo Community College from September, 1969, to June, 1972, and then returned to the University of Wisconsin to complete graduate work.

3. "Navaho" has been the spelling preferred by many anthropologists, but "Navajo" is the official spelling adopted by the Tribe.

4. Clyde Kluckhohn and Dorothea Leighton, *The Navaho* (New York, 1962), pp. 122-23.

5. Evon Vogt, "The Navaho," in *Perspectives in Indian Culture Change*, ed. Edward Spicer (Chicago, 1961), pp. 278-336.

6. Vogt contends that the "structural framework" of Navajo life is maintained by putting borrowed elements into earlier patterns of sociopolitical organization, religion, transportation, dress, economy and technology, and language. *Ibid*., pp. 327-29.

7. Kluckhohn and Leighton, *The Navaho*, p. 123.

8. "Anglo" is the term generally employed in the southwest for White.

9. Christian, "The Navajo," p. 8.

10. *Ibid*., p. 57.

11. Richard Goodwin, "The American Condition
January 28, 1974, p. 41.

12. These mineral resources are primarily
utility: oil, uranium, and (given recent
growth) coal; gold, fortunately, had to

13. See Bernard Spolsky and Wayne Holm, "Lite
The Case of the Navajo," University of
Study Progress Report No. 8 (March, 1971)

14. Robert W. Young, "A Sketch of the Navajo
Yearbook (Window Rock, Arizona, 1961), 8,

15. The most commonly employed orthography
decades ago by Robert W. Young and Willi
Dr. Morgan tried his best to instruct the
language at Navajo Community College.

16. See Penny Murphy, "A Brief History of
Analytical Bibliography of Navajo Reading
Spolsky, Agnes Holm, and Penny Murphy
See as well Wayne S. Holm, "Some Aspects
Diss. University of New Mexico, 1972; Hol
community school of Rock Point, Arizona.

17. The main impact has been in the community
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at Navajo Community College. The Navajo
Diné Bi'Olta Association, has lately take
promoting Navajo literacy. See Holm, "S

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11. Richard Goodwin, "The American Condition: II," The New Yorker, January 28, 1974, p. 41.

12. These mineral resources are primarily twentieth century in their utility: oil, uranium, and (given recent soughwestern population growth) coal; gold, fortunately, had to be sought elsewhere.

13. See Bernard Spolsky and Wayne Holm, "Literacy in the Vernacular: The Case of the Navajo," University of New Mexico Navajo Reading Study Progress Report No. 8 (March, 1971), p. 8.

14. Robert W. Young, "A Sketch of the Navajo Language," Navajo Yearbook (Window Rock, Arizona, 1961), 8, pp. 430-510.

15. The most commonly employed orthography was developed over three decades ago by Robert W. Young and William Morgan (Navajo). Dr. Morgan tried his best to instruct the author in the Navajo language at Navajo Community College.

16. See Penny Murphy, "A Brief History of Navajo Literary," in Analytical Bibliography of Navajo Reading Materials, ed. Bernard Spolsky, Agnes Holm, and Penny Murphy (Washington, 1970), pp. 4-25. See as well Wayne S. Holm, "Some Aspects of Navajo Orthography," Diss. University of New Mexico, 1972; Holm is the principal at the community school of Rock Point, Arizona.

17. The main impact has been in the community schools, such as Rough Rock, Ramah Navajo High School, Rock Point, and Borrego Pass, and at Navajo Community College. The Navajo Education Association, Diné Bi'Olta Association, has lately taken an active role in promoting Navajo literacy. See Holm, "Some Aspects," pp. 16-17.

18. More recently, there have been some important studies, including David Aberle, "A Plan for Navajo Economic Development," in Toward Economic Development for Native American Communities (Washington, 1969), 1, pp. 223-76. Adams' Shonto: A Study of the Role of the Trader in a Modern Navaho Community (Washington, 1963) remains useful.

19. See John Adair and Sol Worth, Through Navajo Eyes (Bloomington, Indiana, 1972).

20. Dennis Tedlock, "Learning to Listen: Oral History as Poetry," unpublished paper presented at the session, "Answers Without Questions: An Evaluation and Critique of Oral History," at the 1973 meeting of the Organization of American Historians.

21. This is the English translation provided by Milton Bluehouse, Navajo Studies instructor at Navajo Community College, during a talk in Navajo by Descheeny Nez Tracy at a Navajo Community College in-service session, May, 1971.

22. Dillon Platero, Navajo, founded the newspaper and Marshall Tome, Navajo, served as editor for a period of time. But Chester MacRorie, the current editor, and previous editor Dick Hardwick, are Anglo; and they alone have held the position for the past eight years.

23. Broderick Johnson, an Anglo, has been director of the Navajo Community College Press, and the College's first president, Robert Roessel, perhaps its strongest advocate.

24. Navajo Community College Press books emphasize they are "by Navajos, for Navajos, about Navajos."

25. William Adams, "Navajo Social Organization," Anthropologist, 73, No. 1, p. 273.

26. Mary Shepardson and Blodwen Hammond considere Navajo Mountain Community "It's Up to Him: A Social Organization." Shepardson and Hammond, Community (Berkeley, 1970), p. 241.

27. Mary Shepardson, Navajo Ways in Government, A logical Association, Memoir No. 96, 65, No. 3,

28. The Ramah studies initiated by Clyde Kluckhoh over the years by dozens of others are the pri

29. See Christian, "The Navajo," pp. 6-8.

30. This discussion of Navajo land usage has been of Bahe Billy, "Population, Pollution, and La Navajo" (unpublished paper, n.d.).

31. See Scott Momaday, "An American Land Ethic," York, 1970).

32. Billy notes the value shared by older Navajos: be in contention." Billy, "Population," p. 12

33. The policy of forcing Navajos to reduce their in the interest of soil conservation succeeded missioner of Indian Affairs John Collier a per goat. See Edward Spicer, "Sheepmen and Techni Problems in Technological Change, ed. Edward S 1952), pp. 185-207.

34. James F. Downs, "The Cowboy and the Lady: Mode of the Rate of Acculturation among the Pinon N

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27. Mary Shepardson, Navajo Ways in Government, American Anthropological Association, Memoir No. 96, 65, No. 3, Pt. 2 (1963).

28. The Ramah studies initiated by Clyde Kluckhohn and carried out over the years by dozens of others are the prime example.

29. See Christian, "The Navajo," pp. 6-8.

30. This discussion of Navajo land usage has been aided by a reading of Bahe Billy, "Population, Pollution, and Land Use Among the Navajo" (unpublished paper, n.d.).

31. See Scott Momaday, "An American Land Ethic," Eco-tactics (New York, 1970).

32. Billy notes the value shared by older Navajos: "land should never be in contention." Billy, "Population," p. 12.

33. The policy of forcing Navajos to reduce their livestock holdings in the interest of soil conservation succeeded only in making Commissioner of Indian Affairs John Collier a perpetual Navajo scapegoat. See Edward Spicer, "Sheepmen and Technicians," in Human Problems in Technological Change, ed. Edward Spicer (New York, 1952), pp. 185-207.

34. James F. Downs, "The Cowboy and the Lady: Models as a Determinant of the Rate of Acculturation among the Pinon Navajo," Kroeber

Anthropological Society Papers, No. 29 (Fall, 1963), rpt. in Native Americans Today, ed. Howard M. Bahr, Bruce A. Chadwick, and Robert C. Day (New York, 1972), pp. 275-90.

35. Barth, "Studying Social Change," pp. 249-51.

36. As Aberle comments, the Navajo Tribal Utility Authority, while an important accomplishment and a revenue producer for the Tribe, is in the odd position of having to buy the electricity produced by coal reserves leased to outside companies. Aberle, "A Plan," p. 255.

37. Navajo Forest Products Industries is the best example.

38. The most thorough analyses of Navajo tribal government are Robert W. Young, "The Origin and Development of Navajo Tribal Government," in Young, Navajo Yearbook, 8, pp. 371-411; and Shepardson, Navajo Ways in Government.

39. Henry Dobyns, "Therapeutic Experience of Responsible Democracy," in The American Indian Today, ed. Stuart Levine and Nancy O. Lurie (Baltimore, 1968), pp. 268-94.

40. The March 27, 1973, United States Supreme Court decision held that Arizona could not collect state income tax from Indians working and living on the Navajo Nation.

41. In addition to aiding the establishment of the Pinon co-operative, DNA brought a class action suit against the operators of the Pinon trading post. The suit was settled eventually out of court.

42. The degree of control actually practiced has been a highly controversial issue, particularly at Rough Rock. At the very least, however, a greater degree of commu
been achieved.

43. The Navajo Division of Education has soug
O'Malley funds slated for Navajo schools.
Bureau of Indian Affairs Area Director To
attempted to block such a takeover. See "
Director," Navajo Times, 16, No. 13 (April

44. Created by a June, 1972, resolution of th
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objectives the goal of establishing an Am
school. At the same time, the health aut
such as Carl Gorman in the area of Native
Gorman, a distinguished artist, reaffirme
tional Navajo medical practices in a rece
Times.

45. Navajo Tribal Code (Orford, New Hampshire,
Chapter 5, p. 7.

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trol actually practiced has been a highly
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least, however, a greater degree of community participation has been achieved.

43. The Navajo Division of Education has sought control of Johnson-O'Malley funds slated for Navajo schools. According to Platero, Bureau of Indian Affairs Area Director Tony Lincoln (a Navajo) has attempted to block such a takeover. See "Platero Rebuffs Area Director," *Navajo Times*, 16, No. 13 (April 11, 1974).

44. Created by a June, 1972, resolution of the Navajo Tribal Council, the Navajo Health Authority is now directed by Dr. Taylor MacKenzie, the only Navajo M.D. It has as one of its prime objectives the goal of establishing an American Indian medical school. At the same time, the health authority employs people such as Carl Gorman in the area of Native Healing Sciences. Gorman, a distinguished artist, reaffirmed the value of traditional Navajo medical practices in a recent series in the *Navajo Times*.

45. *Navajo Tribal Code* (Orford, New Hampshire, 1970), Title 1, Chapter 5, p. 7.

URBANIZATION, PEOPLEHOOD AND MODES OF IDENTITY:
NATIVE AMERICANS IN CITIES

by

James H. Stewart
St. Olaf College
Northfield, Minnesota

The urban migration of Native Americans from
rural areas has been an unnoticed process until ve
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, PEOPLEHOOD AND MODES OF IDENTITY:
TIVE AMERICANS IN CITIES

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James H. Stewart
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The urban migration of Native Americans from reservations and rural areas has been an unnoticed process until very recently. While the presence of Native Americans in cities is not new, we are becoming aware of a new, or perhaps a renewed, vibrancy in terms of people building and, more recently, power movements. The urbanization of Native Americans, though at best a mixed blessing under current conditions, has been gaining increased attention from such diverse groups as lawyers, social leaders, municipal policy makers, and social scientists. Evidence of the academic interest is found in two recent collections (Bahr, Chadwick, and Day, 1972, and Waddell and Watson, 1971).[1]

The problem with much of the literature is that it deals with how poorly Native Americans adjust or adapt to urban culture. Thus, we have statistical accounts of a people in trouble. Acculturation and assimilation are often confused with upward mobility. Furthermore, upward mobility at least implicitly is assumed to be a value in the sociological sense.

We do not have sufficient knowledge about how Native Americans live in the cities, their primary and secondary structures such as kin and peer groups, their value and interest orientations. We know little about their relationships to the broader society, especially the caretaker functions of the outside world. Since we have no ethnographic studies of urban Indians of the quality of Gans, Liebow or Suttles, our analysis and interpretation is correspondingly weak. This is not meant as a criticism but rather points to the methodological difficulties in studying Native Americans in an urban setting. As Tax states: "It's hard to find them, they don't stay long enough to study anyway . . ."[2] One reason they are hard to find in some urban areas is due to the stated purpose of the Bureau's Employment Assistance Program, namely, to disperse the Native Americans among the general population to encourage assimilation.

What is meant by Urban Indians? Ecologically it means they dwell in the city, but even here many are mobile, moving back and forth to home folk. But they have not embraced Urbanism or urban culture as described by Wirth.[3] They are not competitive, money oriented, adherents to predictable routines, and hierarchically structured. Their salient relationships are not secondary, impersonal, or segmental. They do not value associations with more people with less intimate knowledge nor do they value freedom from personal and emotional control of intimate groups. But if transitoriness is characteristic of urban culture, and Gans thinks it is,[4] then urban culture has taken on the characteristic of the nomadic life of the Native American with one difference. The typical urbanite moves from place to place for instrumental purposes such as a better job, education, place to live. Though the urban Indians have this concern, they do not move so much from place to place as back and forth. Their movements are more expressive, seeking a change of scenery, freedom to be with kin and friends, to go to celebrations and pow-wows. Being person oriented rather than object oriented, Native Americans find fulfillment, status, identity with their kinship's peer group relationships. These relationships take on a saliency and exclusiveness which provides a strong structural base for cultural persistence. This structural base has been strengthened in urban areas by the use of Pan-Indianness. This movement and

ideology offers a secondary support to perso
Instead of destroying Indianness, urbanism as
heightened the awareness of these people's id
think of Native Americans within the framewor
community based on kinship structures.

The adaptation to urban culture and espe
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the Native Americans in contrast to white soci
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whatever progress and achievement has been mad
sive strain on community ties.

Achievement in urban society is based on
economic, or social--ideology that emphasizes
vidualism, competitiveness, and pragmatic util
not persons. Persons can be replaced but role
cans have adapted to these forces of mass soci
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ideology offers a secondary support to personal and social identity. Instead of destroying Indianness, urbanism as a contrast factor has heightened the awareness of these people's identity. Thus we must think of Native Americans within the framework of a very local community based on kinship structures.

The adaptation to urban culture and especially the job system and its values from their perspective has been in terms of this community framework. However, many studies described this adjustment in other terms, and the result is an analysis of "poor adjustment." The economic base of the local community and tribe has been either largely taken away or controlled by the federal government. Yet the community life and satisfactions of Native Americans is still intrinsically bonded to the value of community lands. From this point of view, adjustment has been difficult. These difficulties are not measured by the Native Americans in contrast to white society by the degree of achievement as such in increased income, education, and so forth. But whatever progress and achievement has been made is viewed as an expensive strain on community ties.

Achievement in urban society is based on corporate--be it political, economic, or social--ideology that emphasizes power inequality, individualism, competitiveness, and pragmatic utility. Roles are important, not persons. Persons can be replaced but roles cannot. Native Americans have adapted to these forces of mass society both on the reservation and in the city by relying on their structural strengths--the expressive values of kin and peer group ties. They have been successful in not assimilating the former values. But they have not been successful in the power game. They have not been allowed to regain their lands nor some functional alternative such as community development corporations in order to pursue their community life within an economic structure conducive to their ways. The problem of Native American maintenance and survival is not the unwillingness to take on the technological culture and advancements in the areas of jobs, education, health and so forth, but the unwillingness of white America to allow and assist the Native Americans to utilize these advancements for supporting their own identity. In sum, Native Americans have been singularly successful despite tremendous outside pressures in maintaining their sense of peoplehood, but have not been able to sufficiently pluralize the economic base for it to be conducive to self determination and community control.

The purpose of this paper is primarily to review the literature on urbanization and urban living of Native Americans for the purpose of delineating some of the disagreements and contradictory points of view about the nature of adjustment and acculturation. Perhaps one can resolve some of the confusion through a consideration of a model of adaptation and identity based on Gordon's concept of structural pluralism,[5] and consideration of the following questions: What are the push and pull factors accounting for urban migration? Who comes? Who stays? Who leaves? What happens to those who homestead in urban areas? What is meant by assimilation, acculturation, mobility, and adjustment? What are the major planes or levels of adjustment? What correlates are associated with these adjustments? What theoretical contributions hopefully will aid in further research? In particular,

the author intends to present a fourfold typology
maintaining identity and discuss factors accounti
modes. Because the typology is simplistic as are
author has tried to refine it by developing a str
model.

Another Trail

Native Americans began to migrate to cities
during World War II seeking job opportunities in
tries. The urbanization process has accelerated
1950. Though population statistics on urban Indi
reliable, White and Chadwick state that in 1950 o
Native Americans lived in urban centers and proje
percent will have moved to urban centers by 1970.[6]
reliable data on how many return to reservations,
estimate a very high return. A great many, howeve
reservation and the city.[7]

The push and pull factors accounting for rapi
and varied. Price, in a study of Indians in Los
primary incentive for migration to be an economic
higher wages, better living conditions.[8] Garbari
ing the job opportunities from the industrial buil
II as largely influential for long term stays in
study of the Navajo in Denver emphasizes the "push
reservation noting that many Indians leave the re
they expect better living conditions as much as th

game. They have not been allowed to regain
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the author intends to present a fourfold typology of modes for maintaining identity and discuss factors accounting for different modes. Because the typology is simplistic as are all Ideal Types, the author has tried to refine it by developing a strategic culturalism model.

Another Trail

Native Americans began to migrate to cities in greater numbers during World War II seeking job opportunities in war production industries. The urbanization process has accelerated dramatically since 1950. Though population statistics on urban Indians are not completely reliable, White and Chadwick state that in 1950 only 16 percent of the Native Americans lived in urban centers and project that close to 50 percent will have moved to urban centers by 1970.[6] Researchers have no reliable data on how many return to reservations, but most studies estimate a very high return. A great many, however, fluctuate between reservation and the city.[7]

The push and pull factors accounting for rapid migration are many and varied. Price, in a study of Indians in Los Angeles, found the primary incentive for migration to be an economic one: better jobs, higher wages, better living conditions.[8] Garbarino supports this citing the job opportunities from the industrial build-up during World War II as largely influential for long term stays in Chicago.[9] Weppner's study of the Navajo in Denver emphasizes the "push" factors of the reservation noting that many Indians leave the reservation not because they expect better living conditions as much as the reservation does not provide economic opportunities.[10] Other "push" factors such as reservation poverty, public health service, housing, education have been well described by Cahn.[11]

Hodge[12] presents a rural-urban migration model based on his study of the Navajos in Albuquerque. Here the family is used as the framework for comparing factors which promote or retard migration. The push and pull factors of urbanization are similar to the ones cited above. What is of interest in the push and pull factors back to the reservation? These factors are summarized under the following headings: (1) forces that pull individuals back to the reservation from the cities--chance to use skills acquired in cities, family ties and more relaxed atmosphere, inability to make a satisfactory living, language barriers, and unfulfilled obligations to tribesmen; and (2) forces that push individuals toward the reservation--unsatisfied job aspirations, lack of satisfying interpersonal urban relations, general dissatisfaction with urban life, and Navajo's spouse. The return to the reservation will be discussed more fully later on. Since 1950 the most important facilitating condition for stimulating urbanization of Native Americans has been the BIA's Employment Assistance Program.[13] In sum the Native American comes to the city primarily for job opportunities. Many leave because of dissatisfactions with jobs and personal relations. Many are trapped and stay because conditions on the reservations are worse. Ablon states that Indians who remain in the San Francisco Bay area do so involuntarily because there are no job opportunities on the reservation.[14]

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Who migrates? Those who come to urban areas tend to be under 35 years old, better educated, had some prior interaction with whites through either military experience or work situations.[15] Price, however, makes a distinction between those who migrate to urban centers on their own or through the Employment Assistance Program (formerly Relocation Program). Relocatees tend to be younger, have lower incomes, and speak their native language. This group would prefer to return to the reservation but stay, as Ablon states, unwillingly because of the job opportunities.

The most frequently cited factor explaining the return to the reservation is the lack of economic success after migrating to the city. Sorkin found that those with no economic success were most likely to return if they were over forty, had less than four years of school, and had no previous occupational experience.[16] Weppner supports Sorkin's and Ablon's findings that economic problems after arrival are the crucial factors in returning. His study of the Navajos in Denver found that post-migration experiences were more critical than pre-migration experiences in determining the migrant's decision to stay. Those most likely to return were those (1) who had to wait a long time to get a job, (2) who received wages lower than expected, and (3) who were "labelled" detrimentally by an employer.[17] This is not to say that there aren't other important factors which influence the return to reservation life, such as congenial family ties.[18]

It would be a mistake to view the organization of Native Americans as a linear development as if the Native Americans either come to the city permanently and become assimilated or retreat back to the traditional life of the reservation. The literature documents a cyclical migration pattern of many Native Americans. Many migrants arriving in the city and unable to find employment return to the reservation only to find that jobs are scarce and thus return to the city.[19] Graves and Hurt find another reason for this cyclical movement, namely, Indians who go back and forth as seasonal migratory laborers. They characterize this group as more "traditional" than those living on the reservations having strong ties to the reservation in terms of kin and friends and rejecting identification with white society.[20]

One can classify three categories of migrants to the city: (1) those who become permanent residents, (2) those who stay for a short period but leave permanently, and (3) those who are engaged in a cyclical movement between the reservation and the city. Native Americans come to the city for a higher standard of living through better jobs, education, and the like. Yet they have deep commitments to kin and peer relationships which are more available on the reservation. This creates great personal strain and role conflict as breadwinner and kin. Some cope and stay, others leave for a while or permanently. At the present stage of research development, we do not have a systematic analysis of the factors accounting for the urban homesteaders, nomads, and temporaries. It is helpful to distinguish two types of homesteaders, those who are economically mobile and those who are trapped. According to Ablon, pre-migratory experiences, such as level of education, social and economic background, acculturation experiences, made no difference with those who stayed and those who left.[21] Many stay because of early and continued economic success, but others stay

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What Happens Once You Get There: Structural and C

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because they are trapped. The reservation does not hold any promise. One possible factor that helps explain why the mobile and trapped stay is their ability to create functional communities in the urban areas. Communities are composed of kin, quasi-kin, friends and tribal members shored up by a multitude of Native American organizations and cemented by Pan-Indianness. Hurt's classification of rejecting, selecting, and accepting Indians are helpful formulations in the understanding of these adaptations.[22]

What Happens Once You Get There: Structural and Cultural Adjustments

The homesteaders who come to urban areas on their own power tend to live close together. For those who come under the auspices of the BIA's Employment Assistance program, proximity is more difficult because of the Bureau's policy of dispersal. But given the opportunity, new arrivals cluster together in local groupings and develop particularistic Indian organizations. Albon found that Indians who had migrated to the San Francisco Bay area have chosen to associate primarily with other Indians in both informal and formal associations.[23] Home visitation is most frequent among kin, tribesmen, and previous acquaintances from the reservation. This is due to factors which contribute to a sense of peoplehood among Native Americans such as common traditions and values, common rural backgrounds, obligations among kin and tribesmen for mutual aid, and security of ties and traditions against an urban environment considered hostile. Both Wax and Price support Ablon's finding although Price notes that there is variation due to length of residence and tribal affiliations. For instance, the five civilized tribes usually live outside the city center of Los Angeles and associate less with other Indians.[24] Hurt's analysis of Yankton Indians seems to concur with Price. He finds that the most urban-oriented "selecting" Indians tend to associate with other Indians while Indians that are accepting of white culture--usually long term residents--are less likely to associate with Indians and are heavily involved in formal organizations.[25]

From the above discussion, one can conclude that settlement patterns vary based on the degree of assimilation and length of urban residence. Long term assimilation oriented Native Americans can be properly called urban Indians. They live as individual families in an urban aggregate. These Indians according to Price tend to take their Indianness lightly. On the other end of the continuum, the greater majority of Native Americans maintain a functioning small community. This is not ecologically based but consists of kin, tribesmen, and a few friends. They may or may not be oriented to the middle class, but this is not a salient element. What is important is the congeniality of the group.[26]

One must emphasize the notion of group rather than neighborhood community. Native American ties and identity are formed not by neighborhood proximity nor by class variables, but by kinship, tribal affiliation, race and Pan-Indianness, and peer group relations. A word is in order concerning the structure of the very local community. Native Americans manifest many of the structural characteristics of the lower working class described by Gans.[27] The internal structure of the group revolves around age, sex, and life cycle factors. There is a

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fairly strong segregation among these groups. Expressive personal ties are emphasized in contrast to instrumental orientations. The Native American stresses his individuality, but its meaning and expression are found in a group context. Values, beliefs, and life itself are based on the kin structure but articulated through the peer group.[28] The influence of the kin based peer group is pervasive. It provides a social anchorage for identity and a buffer against foreign values of urban life. In fact, the peer group community becomes much more salient in urban life than on reservations.

Like immigrants from the old country, Native Americans come to urban areas viewed as foreign countries. Instead of losing their identity through acculturation and assimilation, most experience an increased positive sense of identity, both personal and social, regardless of marital or SES status.[29] This process of ethnogenesis or building peoplehood has been noted with other ethnic groups.[30] It is the peer group structure that carries much of this cultural freight and functions to maintain Indian awareness. It is the chief structural condition in voluntary segregation. It acts as a powerful control mechanism exacting a certain behavioral conformity. Although it may retard individual mobility through its emphasis on expressive and person oriented values, it is capable of successful adaptation and group mobility. The Mohawks and the five civilized tribes are illustrative of this structural pluralism and middle class orientation.[31] This revitalization of Native American has raised the consciousness of these people to a higher level of awareness manifesting itself on both ideological and political levels.[32]

Once in the city to stay, the homesteader stakes out a life filled with ambiguities, insecurities, and conflict. Most often he suffers the conditions of poverty with other urban lower class, but he differs from other poor in that he belongs to a People. The Native American brings his kin and ethnic life with him with its distinctive value system. The ensuing value conflicts have resulted in problems of cultural identity on one hand, namely, the problems of assimilation and pluralism, and on the other hand the problems of personal, social, and economic adjustments.

A Model of Cultural Identity

Our concern in this paper is an examination into the nature of cultural identity, the different modes of identity and their causes. Certainly value conflicts arising out of a meeting of two cultures will disturb the personal and social identity of people embracing the "subordinate" culture.

The homesteader throughout his stay in the city encounters bewildering forces of urbanism. What are these opposing forces? According to Lee, urbanism means greater opportunity for anonymity, mobility, and gives a utilitarian purpose to human associations.[33] Persons are more often cultivated for specific gains and objectives, rather than on an intimate face to face basis.[34] The homesteaders bring a particularistic cultural heritage to this urban world. As mentioned previously, these people tend to stay within their own kinship and friendship circle without developing an expansive network of relationships. As tribal people and kin oriented, they enter a highly

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individualistic urban environment. They bring basic values that tend to be incompatible to the macro culture which emphasizes competition. These values and beliefs include emphasis and respect for the person, cooperation and generous sharing with members of the tribal community, disinterest in accumulating material possessions for the sake of prestige, private exclusive individualistic ownership together with aggressive competition for gain as opposed to sport is foreign, power and authority is more equalitarian based on the kinship autonomy, religious belief in the harmony and order of nature and the spirit; future orientation has no meaning because identity does not change and thus fixed schedules are viewed as constrictive of the spirit; and because of their emphasis on harmony, they tend to emphasize passive acceptance of events and a withdrawal from conflicts and unpleasant disturbances which upset their view of order.[35]

What we have here is a people with structural characteristics of gemeinschaft and pre-industrial cultural orientations attempting to carry on a way of life in a society which is at the other end of the continuum. Human comfort and material well being are of themselves compatible with Indian ways, but the competitive individualistic norms to reach these goals are not. Normative confusion and conflict becomes operative.

The remainder of this paper will deal with how the different structural networks of Native Americans articulate within the cultural worlds of urbanism and Indianism and the factors that may account for the adjustments and maintenance of different modes of identity.

There is a great deal of ambiguity about the meaning and measures of assimilation and acculturation. One finds Gordon's typology helpful in our understanding of these processes.[36] Complete assimilation refers to the total absorption or fusion of cultural behavior and social structural participation of two groups. It includes important sub-processes which are analytically and empirically distinct. Each of these sub-processes may take place in varying degrees or not at all. The most important processes are cultural assimilation or acculturation, structural assimilation, marital assimilation or amalgamation, and identificational assimilation. The obverse processes are cultural, structural, marital, and identificational pluralism.

Our primary interest will be with the acculturation and structural assimilation processes. Acculturation means that in the meeting of two peoples behavioral changes take in either one or both groups. Social relationships in terms of primary ties and intermarriage and group self-identification are variables in the situation. Acculturation does imply a fair amount of secondary intermingling in such institutional settings as school, job market, commercial exchanges, and civic interaction. Cultural patterns and traits that are absorbed or traded include material and technological traits such as dress, use of the automobile, TV, punching a time clock and the like, and non-material complexes such as values, beliefs, language, thought ways, emotional structures and the like.

Acculturation of an ethnic group into the American way of life means essentially the taking on its major value orientations such as competition, individualism, success, efficiency, etc.[37] We consider

these core values as comprising what is conside
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these core values as comprising what is considered to be urbanism. We do not agree with others that acculturation can be measured by socio-economic success.[38] People through upward mobility may acculturate in varying degrees in the major values of the core society. It is for research to determine the variability. There is evidence that some Native Americans become "White Indians" losing their Indian identity altogether, or Indianness becomes only one of several identities.[39] This last point is important to the understanding of cultural adaptions and modes of identity.

Structural assimilation and pluralism is the degree to which there is widespread interactions by the ethnic group on a primary group level. Marital and identificational assimilation or pluralism are specific cases of this process. The evidence presented in this paper so far demonstrates that the majority of Native Americans are pluralistic in their structural relationships. They intermingle mainly with kin and close friends. There is a high degree of endogomy, and their kin structure, as opposed to tribal affiliation, is the basis of a new Indian identity found in Pan-Indianism. Participation with white Americans remains primarily instrumental, even though they enter the larger world of education, work, and commerce. Many are quite capable of taking on the values attendant to these institutional spheres, but their saliency remains in the specific spheres. In other words, they do not bring these values home. Others, like the Navajo, absorb much less of the urban culture and remain a people much to themselves.

It is helpful in the understanding of these modes of identity of the urban homesteaders to develop a typology of responses based on the above two processes of acculturation and structural assimilation. This will hopefully aid in the systematic research on the factors accounting for a different identity. A fourfold classification is presented in Figure I.

Models based on Ideal Types by definition exaggerate social reality but are useful in delineating and classifying potential predictors of behavior. This model can be viewed either synchronically or diachronically. Research reports developmental stages of "assimilation" moving from cells 4 to 3 to 1 or 2. Factors such as length of residence, SES standing, mixed blood, and structural (primary ties) assimilation, are employed as explanatory variables. Later some refinements of this model will be discussed, in terms of the cultural "strategist" adaptation. The conclusion that will be reached is that Native Americans assume several cultural identities which have a different importance in terms of differing social worlds. We will now discuss some of the factors associated with these fourfold adaptations, keeping in mind that these four responses are variable processes, not discrete conditions.

Hurt's research revealed a significant group of Indians whom he designated "urban oriented accepting Indians," ones who accepted both the structure and the culture of the dominant urban society. They attempt to integrate into the American middle class. No attempt is made to preserve an Indian identity nor to maintain ties with the reservation.[40] Factors accounting for "White" Indians are being descendents of mixed marriage, being exogamous themselves, born off the reservation and long term urban residents and socio-economic success.

Figure I

FOURFOLD MODES OF IDENTITY BASED ON ACC

AND STRUCTURAL ASSIMILATION

Structural Relations	Acculturation	
	Urbanism	
Structural Assimilation	1 "White" Indian	The "
Structural Pluralism	3 The Cultural "Strategist" Indian	The "

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Figure I

FOURFOLD MODES OF IDENTITY BASED ON ACCULTURATION AND STRUCTURAL ASSIMILATION

Structural Relations	Acculturation	
	Urbanism	Indianism
Structural Assimilation	1 "White" Indian	2 The "Cosmopolitan" Indian
Structural Pluralism	3 The Cultural "Strategist" Indian	4 The "Traditional" Indian

White discovers the same response in Rapid City.[41] Their sole identification is with the upper middle class white society. White cites mixed blood and making it good economically as the major explanatory factors. These Indians typify the response found in cell 1. Their kinship and primary ties, as well as the culture they embrace, are that of the white society.

McFee's study finds a small Indian population which corresponds to our "Cosmopolitan" Indian in cell 2.[42] These individuals whom he calls "interpreters" are active respected members of the Indian culture but also have a wide experience in the white ways and compete successfully with whites and have their respect. They are Indian oriented but move with ease within white culture. They are highly bicultural. Factors accounting for these creative marginals are dual socialization processes, dual primary relationships, leadership aspirations, understanding of leadership requirements, and a bicultural system calling for cultural brokers. These people are able to maintain two functioning identities.

We have learned from our previous discussion that the homesteaders, those who have made a stake in the city and stay, are most likely to associate primarily with other Native Americans based on kin and peer group ties. They have a strong sense of Indianness which becomes more positive after living in the city for a time. Ablon speaks of a "neo-Indian" social identity which is pan-Indian in its orientation. This latter phenomenon is a functional alternative to tribal identity. They form a "community" which is neither traditional nor white middle class.

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Hurt refers to these people as "reservation o
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hich is neither traditional nor white middle class.

This identity is in the process of creation. Urban life is the incubator.

The same phenomenon is described by Wax as the "generalized" Indian. Although Pan-Indianism provides a general social identity (Gordon's notion of identificational pluralism), many of these people possess multiple identities revolving around occupational, religious, residential attachments as well as Indianness.[43] While maintaining enclosed primary networks, these Native Americans acculturate into differing social worlds to the extent that these identities are functional for harmonious relations. Often enough, however, "successful" acculturation in these socio-economic spheres is paid for by personal and social disorganization. In our model we call this response the cultural strategist. Factors which aid our understanding of the cultural strategist are, on one hand, conditions and opportunities within the city such as length of residence, occupational training, SES aspirations, increased institutional alternatives, less mechanistic social control, and residential scattering; on the other hand, continued commitment to certain Indian values, maintenance of kin and peer group ties, physical appearance, perception of urban society as foreign and hostile, and identificational pluralism through Pan-Indianism.

Our fourth response is what we call the "Traditional" Indian. Hurt refers to these people as "reservation oriented." They are often long term residents who intensely dislike the city and would return to the reservation if it were economically feasible. For this group the reservation is home, and preservation of Indian identity and language is very important. Most families live isolated from other tribal groups and whites while in the city. They tend to be more nomadic with frequent trips to the reservation. Price's study of the Navajo's adaptation is similar to Hurt's. While the Navajos have the same educational level as other tribes, they associated almost exclusively with other Navajos. About 90 percent spoke Navajo and almost 50 percent married within their own tribe, thus evidencing a strong cultural and structural pluralism. Factors accounting for the "traditional" urban Indian are newness to the city; exclusive primary ties within the city; relative proximity of the reservation; greater involvement in the political, religious, and social life of the reservation; expectations of moving back; and frequency of visitations. In sum, the "traditional" urban Indian maintains a single exclusive identity.

Acculturation processes have several possible avenues to follow. Native Americans can completely absorb the white culture and structural networks, remain functionally aloof, or they in varying degrees participate in bicultural worlds as "Strategists" and "Cosmopolitans." Urbanism and Indianism should not be confused with class standings. Our contention is that SES indicators are not proper measures of urban acculturation. They may or may not contribute to the taking on of urban values. We have previously discussed what we consider proper dimensions of urban and Indian values. Table I lists the important correlates of the acculturation processes.

Turning to some refinements of the "Strategist" response, the Native Americans who become urban homesteaders add and subtract from their cultural repertoire in relationship to different institutional worlds and their constraints. Most urban Indians claim their

Table I

CORRELATES OF INDIAN AND URBAN ACCUL

Reservation Factors

1. Little or no reservation experience (e.g., bo
   reservation).
2. Degree of personal adjustment required in the
3. Relative proximity of the reservation to the
4. Degree of institutional involvement on the re
5. Frequency of visits to the reservation.
6. Degree of strong expectations to return to th

Conditions in the City

1. Degree of residential scattering.
2. Length of residence in the city.
3. Availability of alternative choices in the cit
   life chances and style).
4. Degree of peer group social control.
5. Relative size of the ethnic and white groups.
6. Plural power structures and the absence of the

Structural Networks (Primary Relat

1. Degree of involvement and commitment to kin an
   relationships.
2. Degree of interracial marriage.
3. Degree of identification with Pan-Indianism.

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Table I

CORRELATES OF INDIAN AND URBAN ACCULTURATION

Reservation Factors

1. Little or no reservation experience (e.g., born off the reservation).
2. Degree of personal adjustment required in the transition.
3. Relative proximity of the reservation to the city.
4. Degree of institutional involvement on the reservation.
5. Frequency of visits to the reservation.
6. Degree of strong expectations to return to the reservation.

Conditions in the City

1. Degree of residential scattering.
2. Length of residence in the city.
3. Availability of alternative choices in the city (i.e., in terms of life chances and style).
4. Degree of peer group social control.
5. Relative size of the ethnic and white groups.
6. Plural power structures and the absence of the BIA.

Structural Networks (Primary Relations)

1. Degree of involvement and commitment to kin and peer group relationships.
2. Degree of interracial marriage.
3. Degree of identification with Pan-Indianism.

Table I (Continued)

4. Degree of successful dual socialization in urban and Indian institutions.

Power and Socio-Economic Factors

1. Degree of awareness and aspiration for leadership roles.
2. Degree to which a bicultural system calls forth leadership opportunities.
3. Degree of adaptive capacity (e.g., social, technological skills, etc.).
4. Degree of achievement orientation.

Racial Factors

1. Degree to which physical appearance is noticed.
2. Degree of actual racial and class discrimination.
3. Degree to which white society is perceived hostile.

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group cultures rather than some all pervasive

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identities.

The constitutive elements of each milieu
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drinking buddies within peer group relationsh
themselves blue collar on the job, Native Ame
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Table I (Continued)

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Indianness as their major social identity. This is maintained by the kin and peer group structures and supported by Pan-Indianness. This provides the overall sense of Peoplehood. But like other social beings, Native Americans form other social identities which, of course, will have different saliencies. These identities are based more on group cultures rather than some all pervasive sub-culture.

The present author offers a strategic culturalism model to help in understanding the complex processes of pluralism. This model suggests that people are able to maintain multiple cultural patterns and group networks. Society comprises many rings of social life, and people cope in varying degrees with these social worlds. They strategize their behavioral patterns to meet the differing role demands of each institutional circle, and in the process they maintain multiple identities.

The constitutive elements of each milieu are a wide range of institutional settings intersected by the ecological structure of the city. Persons may identify themselves as a member of a band when with kin and relatives. They may identify themselves simply as buddies or drinking buddies within peer group relationships. Persons may consider themselves blue collar on the job, Native American at church, and American in commercial and civic interactions. Factors in one social world will effect one's conception of self in other circles. More precisely, these areas have built-in structural conflicts. People are more or less successful in strategizing these identities in an over all consistency.

This model views a specific people simultaneously having a variety of cultural ways such as voluntarily embracing common values in some institutional areas, involuntarily assimilating in other areas, maintaining distinctiveness in a third area, modifying or refining its distinctiveness in still another area. What additional variables account for the differential outcomes of strategic culturalism? The following conditions are important explanatory factors: 1) the degree of institutional tolerance for diversity, 2) the degree to which an institutional area has strong insulating mechanisms, 3) the ecological opportunities to sustain cultural diversity, 4) the degree to which *gemeinschaft* qualities are strongly held values, and 5) the degree to which the common culture demands standardization of behavior for its functioning. Paying attention to these factors will hopefully aid research on the dynamic nature of a new pluralism.

FOOTNOTES

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INDIAN LITERATURE AND THE ADOLESCENT

by

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A few years ago, in the wake of the Black Civil Rights Movement, schools began to introduce units in Black literature. It was inevitable that not long after would come Indian literature, Chinese, Oriental-American; and now we find Norwegian, Swedish, Polish, and many other ethnic literatures. American Indian literature and culture, however, holds a very special place in relationship to American literature and culture. If our American culture differs from British culture, a large part of that difference comes from the historical relationship of the European-American with the Native American. We took the names of our states from the Native American--Tennessee, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Delaware, Illinois, Iowa, Dakota. We used his words and names for our cities--Omaha, Yankton, Yakima, Peoria, and Bemidji. In our creation of the stereotyped Indian hunter who "roamed" the prairies, we forgot that it was the Indian farmer who first showed the European-American how to cultivate potatoes, melons, corn, beans, pumpkin, and squash. We took political concepts from the League of the Iroquois and incorporated them eventually into our Constitution. And we adopted from the Indian such common items as canoes, snow shoes, bows and arrows, and moccasins. Our standard American writers, although knowing the Indian very superficially, created such Indian characters as Chingachgook and Uncas, Ramona, Hiawatha and Minnehaha, Sam Fathers and Boon Hogganbeck.

Yet, in spite of the many reminders that American culture contains in it a strong Indian element, an examination of three recently published high school literature series reveals few representative works from Indian authors. One series, a 1972 publication, contains in six volumes six traditional Indian poems, all very short; one song by a modern Indian, Buffy Sainte Marie; two sections from N. Scott Momaday's *House Made of Dawn*; and a short story by two modern authors, one of whom is Indian. In this series, each volume, except the British literature text, has at least one Indian work. A second series, 1973 publication, in six volumes has four legends; a poem by a modern Indian poet, Emerson Blackhorse Mitchell; a section from *Black Elk Speaks* and one from Momaday's *The Way to Rainy Mountain*. In this series, the seventh grade book contains the most, the four legends, and the tenth grade book has nothing. A third series, twelve small paperbacks developed especially, the teacher's guide says, for disadvantaged students, has nine volumes which contain nothing by Indian authors. Two volumes have one short poem each, and one has two poems and a short essay by Momaday.[1]

If these series are typical, it seems that a few very short traditional poems, an occasional modern short story or poem, a few legends, N. Scott Momaday, and Black Elk seem to be the token Indian representations.

Where is the real Indian, the Native American who has played such a large part in our American history, language, and literature, the Indian who is not vanishing but, in many parts of the country, is increasing in numbers and expressing himself ever more fluently and impressively?

The goal here is to suggest a few of the kinds of works which might be in the American junior and senior high school curriculum, works which students, Indian and non-Indian alike, could read in order to understand the important part which the Native American heritage has

played in the American culture. These works mig
units or elective courses, as is most often happ
incorporated into American literature sequences.

First, all students should be introduced to
legend. Such study is particularly appropriate
tary grades and the junior high. For a teacher
without introducing Manabozho is simply perpetua
stereotype. Better yet, let us eliminate Hiawat
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tricksters. Manabozho, the Great Hare, is only
the Algonquian tribes, but an especially appropr
of the country. Stories of Old Saynday of the
of the prairie tribes, or Raven of the west coas
trickster tales which bring us closer to what th
There are many other types of heroes besides the
tales, heroes who go on marvelous adventures int
of rainbow bridges and arrow chains and successf
feats of bravery and skill.

In selecting editions of mythology, the tea
choices he needs to make. If he wants a volume
mythology of a number of tribes, he can select
arly collection which has been around for a lon
Tales of the North American Indians.[2] Two short
learned collections are *The Storytelling Stone*,
Feldmann, and *American Indian Mythology*, edited
Carol K. Rachlin. A teacher might choose, on t

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played in the American culture. These works might be developed into units or elective courses, as is most often happening, or they could be incorporated into American literature sequences.

First, all students should be introduced to Indian myth and legend. Such study is particularly appropriate for the upper elementary grades and the junior high. For a teacher to talk about Hiawatha without introducing Manabozho is simply perpetuating the Noble Savage stereotype. Better yet, let us eliminate Hiawatha entirely and read instead some of the Manabozho legends, or stories of other Indian tricksters. Manabozho, the Great Hare, is only one trickster, that of the Algonquian tribes, but an especially appropriate study in this part of the country. Stories of Old Saynday of the Kiowas, Coyote of some of the prairie tribes, or Raven of the west coast tribes, are other trickster tales which bring us closer to what the Indian was all about. There are many other types of heroes besides the trickster in Indian tales, heroes who go on marvelous adventures into sky worlds by means of rainbow bridges and arrow chains and successfully complete marvelous feats of bravery and skill.

In selecting editions of mythology, the teacher will find some choices he needs to make. If he wants a volume which includes the mythology of a number of tribes, he can select the classic and scholarly collection which has been around for a long time, Stith Thompson's *Tales of the North American Indians*.[2] Two shorter and somewhat less learned collections are *The Storytelling Stone*, edited by Susan Feldmann, and *American Indian Mythology*, edited by Alice Marriott and Carol K. Rachlin. A teacher might choose, on the other hand, to use a collection of the stories of one particular tribe. The Zunis, the Nez Perce, and the Navajo all have collections done under the auspices of the present-day tribe, in some cases approved by the tribal council, giving them an authority other collections might not have. There are also collections done by individual members of the tribe--Gerald Vizenor's Anishinabe Adisokan, tales of the Chippewa; Jesse J. Cornplanter's Legends of the Longhouse, Iroquois tales; and Anna Moore Shaw's Pima Legends--for example. A different kind of work, but one which is still within the area of legends, is The Way to Rainy Mountain by N. Scott Momaday who combines, in a fairly short prose poem, the mythology of his tribe, the Kiowa, with the history of their journey from the headwaters of the Yellowstone River to their present home in Oklahoma, a journey which the author reconstructed in modern times on a pilgrimage to his grandmother's grave. The work is beautifully illustrated by the author's father, a well-known Kiowa artist.

The legends should be supplemented by the reading of some traditional poetry and some oratory. Quite a number of collections of poetry are available, but two are especially useful: John Bierhorst's In the Trail of the Wind and William Brandon's The Magic World. A recent review of Indian poetry collections is critical of Brandon for taking too much license in his translations. The same reviewer finds Bierhorst's poems closer to the original Indian versions.[3] Again the teacher has some decisions to make. Brandon says his only criterion in selecting and translating has been, "do the lines feel good, moving."[4] But in the process of making them so, he has changed the meaning and spirit considerably. The question the teacher must answer is, is it

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more important that the work be as true to the spirit of the original Indian song as it can be, or that it be "good English poetry"? The decision is the teacher's. If one teaches in Minnesota or Wisconsin, there is another volume by the Chippewa author, Gerald Vizenor, Anishinabe Nagamon, containing a limited number of short poems, along with pictographs, explanations, and notes.

The stereotyped, silent, granite-faced Indian who says no more than "ugh" on the television western has been given the lie by a number of collections of Indian oratory. Especially appropriate here are either W. C. Vanderwerth's Indian Oratory or Virginia Armstrong's I Have Spoken. A study of the mystical importance of the word to all Indians is demonstrated in their poetry as well as in their oratory. Who can forget the Priest of the Sun in Momaday's House Made of Dawn when he says of his grandmother: "You see, for her words were medicine; they were magic and invisible. They came from nothing into sound and meaning. They were beyond price; they could neither be bought or sold. And she never threw words away."[5]

American fiction and modern television have created so many stereotypes and half-truths about Indians that the junior or senior high school teacher should choose very carefully the fiction he teaches about Indians. There are several books by white authors which have been recognized by Indians as accurate pictures of Indian life. Vine Deloria recommends two which are readily available in paperback: When the Legends Die by Hal Borland and Little Big Man by Thomas Berger. The third which he recommends, Stay Away, Joe, by Dan Cushman is not available in paperback.[6] A useful novel for junior high school readers, if it could be published in paperback, is D'Arcy McNickle's *Runner in the Sun*. Certainly every high school library should have the existing edition in hard cover. The author, a Flathead Indian scholar and anthropologist, plays upon the theory that the Indians who disappeared mysteriously from their pueblos in Arizona during prehistorical times were related to the Indians of Mexico. In this novel, Salt, a young cliff-dwelling Indian before the time of the white man, is sent on a mission to the Land of Fable (Mexico) to find a way to help his people, who are without water and the victims of plots among their own clans. The book has action and intrigue and at the same time informs the student about recognized theories of ancient Indian life.

The best senior high school fiction by an Indian author, of course, is N. Scott Momaday's *House Made of Dawn*, a Pulitzer Prize novel. Its possible faults as a novel have been readily recognized. It has a rather hazy plot line and a well-known hero type, the angry young man who finds solace in alcohol, drugs, and sex. In this case he happens to be a modern Indian. Abel returns to his Jemez pueblo home, where ancient beliefs and traditions are still strong, following his experience in service during World War II. His inability to find a place between the old and new leads him ultimately to commit murder and to have to go through a period of rehabilitation, which fails. Only the fact that the hero is a modern "type," which senior high school students and teacher will recognize, makes possible the teaching of the book at all. Incidents and motivation are so deep in ancient Indian culture, which most moderns cannot understand, that without this familiarity the modern reader would be lost. But for students who make

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Indian biography and autobiography offer perhaps the greatest choice of materials for introducing the adolescent to Indian culture. For the junior high school my first choice would be Charles Eastman's Indian Boyhood. This has one great advantage over almost all other Indian autobiographies of the same period. Although the author lived from 1858 until 1873 in the tribal society, he went on to school at Dartmouth and to an M.D. Degree at Boston University, so his story is not an "as told to" autobiography. It is entirely his; no editor or recorder intervened to misinterpret the events. The author, Ohiyesa, calls this the story of his "wild life," in which he records the customs, the stories told in the lodge, the games the boys played, and the life the family lived in a shifting, frightening society, fleeing from the Sioux Uprising in Minnesota. This book has enough excitement and boyishness to appeal to junior high school youngsters, and at the same time it is unique in its authority and in the coherence and fluency with which it is written.

The most often read and taught senior high school Indian autobiography is John Neihardt's Black Elk Speaks, the story of the Oglala Sioux holy man, his visions and his disappointments. This is the classic among "as told to" autobiographies, and certainly Neihardt has gone far to capture the essence of his subject. But the reader does have to recognize that John Neihardt is a large part of that book. Because of its difficulty and strangeness for most modern students, reading and trying to comprehend Black Elk's mystical experiences should perhaps come only after a considerable amount of prior reading from Indian materials.

A vast number of "as told to" autobiographies are in print. Some, like Geronimo's story told to S. M. Barrett, or Black Hawk's story told to Donald Jackson, were recorded because the subject was famous historically; others because the subject was related to or fought for a famous chief, such as Ciyo "Niño" Cochise who told his story to A. Kinney Griffeth, or Jason Betzinez, whose story, *I Fought with Geronimo*, was edited by Wilbur Sturtevant Nye. The degree of the editor's or recorder's intrusion into the story depends to some extent on the subject's facility with English, but to some extent also on the recorder's eagerness to intrude or his willingness to stay out. Black Elk did not know English, so his story had to be told to his son, Ben, who then told it in English to Neihardt, who wrote it down, edited it, and particularly imposed his own order on it. Somewhat the same procedure was used in the case of Geronimo who, while he was a prisoner of war at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, told his story to Asa Daklugie, a chief who had fought with him. Daklugie, who had received some education from whites, translated the story for S. M. Barrett, a white Superintendent of Education in nearby Lawton, Oklahoma. The editor in this case chose not to rearrange the work in order to make it coherent but rather kept it as much as Geronimo told it as he could. One story--that of Mountain Wolf Woman, a Winnebago--was told by the subject in Winnebago into a tape recorder. She then translated her own words into English. This work was then edited by Nancy Lurie.

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More recent Indians have told their stories in order to explain either their way of life in the Indian society or their problems in making the transition into white society. An example of the first type of biography is Kay Bennett's *Kaibah*, a fine junior high school autobiography of special interest to girls. Kaibah tells of her life as a young Navajo growing up from 1928 to 1935, caring for the family sheep, attending festivals, and suffering sadness as each child in the family went away to school, until finally it was Kaibah's turn. This autobiography has no editor or recorder. Two autobiographies of the second type, adjustment from the Indian world into the white world, are both by Hopi women, both also told through an editor--Polingaysi Qoyawayma's *No Turning Back* and Helen Sekaquaptewa's *Me and Mine*--but since both women have good educations, the reader assumes there has been a minimum of editing. In *Miracle Hill: the Story of a Navaho Boy*, Emerson Blackhorse Mitchell tells through his character, Broneco, his own story of his desire to learn about the white man's world. This work was written during a creative writing course at the Institute of American Indian Arts. The teacher, Mrs. T. D. Allen, conscientiously changed only what she had to in order to make the work understandable.

Two collections of many kinds of materials by Indian authors have been done by Indian editors. One, *American Indian Authors*, by Natachee Scott Momaday, the mother of N. Scott Momaday and an editor and author in her own right, is a kind of ready-made unit, including four legends, some traditional poetry, chapters from autobiographies, and some modern short stories and poetry. Supplemented by a collection of legends, a novel, or a full-length autobiography, this small and inexpensive publication could be used at either junior or senior high school level. Although big and expensive, any teacher who is going to teach Indian literature should have at least one copy of Thomas E. Sanders and Walter H. Peek's *Literature of the American Indian* available. The introduction to the book as a whole, as well as the introductions to each section of the book, are invaluable to the teacher. The book also contains a wealth of selections from legends to traditional poetry, to oratory, to modern short stories, poetry, and protest literature.

The preparation of the teacher for Indian literature, especially the non-Indian teacher, is quite important. The teacher needs to know and understand more than the students do in order to prevent inadvertently teaching the stereotypes which are so prevalent in our society. Reading Indian myth or poetry, for example, can lead students to think that Indians worshiped the Great Hare, or the Sun, or stone images, perpetuating the heathen savage stereotype. Charles Eastman, in *The Soul of the Indian*, wrote, ". . . the Indian no more worshiped the Sun than the Christian adores the Cross."[7] The Indian worshiped the Great Spirit or the Great Mystery. But that God was not one which, like the Judeo-Christian God, created man in his own image, thereby placing man above the animals. The Indian god is a spirit found in birds, animals, rocks, clouds, and thunder, just as well as in man. For this reason in myths and poetry, man, animals--anything in nature--fuse and exchange places. Animals and birds talk to man. Man speaks to Loon, Bear, Raven, or Coyote, not the individual animal, but the essence or spirit of the animal. And the trickster becomes a cloud or a man or an

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What follows is a brief outline of a unit or course which could be used in the junior high school and one for the senior high school which would build on it.

For the junior high school, Natachee Scott Momaday's American Indian Authors, supplemented by Feldmann's The Storytelling Stone, N. Scott Momaday's The Way to Rainy Mountain, and Charles Eastman's Indian Boyhood, are musts. All of these works have some legends on which the study at this level would be centered. The Way to Rainy Mountain and Indian Boyhood would also give students a bit of history and the Indian way of life. If the teacher then wanted students to think a bit more about modern Indian problems and feelings, the Momaday American Indian Authors would offer a good selection of modern short stories and poetry. Hopefully, the school library would also have available for individual reading and reports McNickle's Runner in the Sun, Bennett's Kaibah, and Emerson Blackhorse Mitchell's Miracle Hill.

For the senior high school, continued use of the Feldmann collection of legends, and the Thompson collection, or perhaps a collection of the legends of a particular tribe such as Vizenor's, are critical. In addition, a good collection of traditional poetry, such as Bierhorst's, and House Made of Dawn and Black Elk Speaks are also important. Individual student reading could be done in the many biographies and autobiographies from different tribes, giving students an idea of the great diversity of values and life styles among Indians.

With these works students will know at least a little about their Indian cultural heritage.

Before anyone starts such a study, our non-Indian high school students will mistakenly believe that they know Indians. Haven't they played Cowboys and Indians? Haven't they watched TV westerns and even historical documentaries about the Indian Wars? Hiawatha, the Lone Ranger's Tonto, Ramona, the Indians of Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show and their successors in numerous Indian ceremonials performed for tourists, the "Indian Love Call," and the cigar-store Indian are all as familiar to our adolescents as the proverbial hot dogs and apple pie. But these are not the real Native American who inhabited these lands. Ohiyesa, Kaibah, Black Elk, and Emerson Blackhorse Mitchell are. Because of well-intentioned educators of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries who tried to stamp out the Indian language and culture, many of our modern Indian students do not really know their heritage as well as they might. But whether our students are Indian or non-Indian, Native American culture is a part of American culture, and it should be recognized as such.

FOOTNOTES

1. Philip McFarland, ed., *Houghton Mifflin Li*
(Boston, 1972); Leo B. Kneer, ed., *America*
Illinois, 1973); Bethel Bodine, et al, eds
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3. William Bevis, "American Indian Verse Tra
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4. William Brandon, ed., *The Magic World* (New
5. N. Scott Momaday, *House Made of Dawn* (New
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3. William Bevis, "American Indian Verse Translations," *College English*, 35 (March, 1974), pp. 693-703.
4. William Brandon, ed., *The Magic World* (New York, 1971), p. XIV.
5. N. Scott Momaday, *House Made of Dawn* (New York, 1968), p. 89.
6. Vine Deloria, *Custer Died for Your Sins* (New York, 1969), p. 23.
7. Charles Eastman, *The Soul of the Indian* (Rapid City, 1970), p. 3.

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Part III

THE AFRO-AMERICAN EXPERIENCE

The seven essays in this section deal with a variety of approaches to the question of identity and awareness in the minority experience. Historical, literary, and contemporary efforts are discussed in ways that illustrate the special importance of the questions, past and present, for Black Americans. The range and scope of the essays suggest a variety of parallels and differences within the minority experience.

Winthrop Jordan, as noted in the Introduction, in his important study White Over Black implies that many Americans have too easily blamed the English for American racial attitudes. The first essay in this section puts that thesis to the test, and Jimmy Lee Williams concludes that Shakespeare was reflecting the prevailing attitudes of his time in the plays discussed. The question of Black identity and awareness are viewed from the negative side, as developed by the English. The carry-over of the theme is seen in the essay by Roger Whitlow and his penetrating discussion of race and sexuality. The entire issue is really a matter of identity, for all involved, and the race-sex problem distorted in a plethora of ways to either deny the Black man's identity or uplift the white man's.

W. Bedford Clark examines the mulatto tradition in literature, a search for identity in two worlds. The essay illustrates the continuity of concern over identity and self-awareness in Black fiction.

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While the first four essays in this section deal with a literary perspective, the Wilson Moses contribution shifts the emphasis to the historical. The quest for self-improvement and the tradition of Black nationalism are linked to the problem of individual uplift, and individual identity. Elizabeth Parker's essay takes an historical perspective in examining the development of racial pride among Blacks. The "Legacy" of Washington and Woodson have to do with an awareness of the past which in turn relates to individual Black awareness and identity.

The concluding essay by Gerald E. Thomas addresses the issue of educational programs in the context of resocialization. The self-identity of the Black student and the bi-cultural nature of the Black experience in America suggest significant parallels in the experiences of Native-Americans, Latinos, and other racial minorities. The contemporary emphasis of this essay brings the historical precedents to an end, and the reader can see that Shakespeare's "Coal-black is better than any other hue. . . ." (see Williams' essay) is perhaps a more potent phrase than "Black is beautiful"; and in either case, knowing the existence of the phrases would be important in developing identity and awareness among both Blacks and whites.

THEMATIC LINES IN SHAKESPEARE'S *TITUS ANDRONICUS* AND *OTHELLO*:
SEX, RACISM AND EXOTICISM, POINT AND COUNTERPOINT

by

Jimmy Lee Williams
North Carolina A & T University
Greensboro, North Carolina

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The first thematic link between *Titus Andronicus* and *Othello* discussed here is Shakespeare's treatment of black men as exotic and passionate figures. Although Shakespeare, as we shall later see, probably had the opportunity to observe black people, most of his conceptions of them probably came from popular lore and books of travel. Because of that, some background information may be both useful and necessary.[1]

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Englishmen became increasingly interested in distant lands and their inhabitants. They were especially interested in Africa because of its exoticism. Exotic notions of Africa and Africans did not, of course, begin in England during the sixteenth century.[2] But books of travel published during the period served as fuel for already fired-up imaginations. They contributed greatly to a widespread fixation of many unfavorable images of blacks.

In 1555 William Waterman published *The Fardle of Facions conteining the auncient manners, customes and the lawes of the peoples enhabiting the two parts of earth called Affricke and Asie*. Eldred Jones described the effect of this work:

> The effects of the *Fardle of Facions* was not to give new knowledge of the world, but rather give currency to old stories. This is all the book does for Africa. . . . Occasionally an old subject is highlighted by the addition of some new detail or a rather more vivid description. . . . Of the Icthiophagi, we learn that after their meals "they falle uppon their women, even as they come to hande withoute any choyse. . . ." This had of course been less vividly said before. Passages

> like this . . . would be responsible for the association of dark people with lust. (This would be in line with what by the mid-sixteenth century had become part of the popular lore, namely that the nearer the sun people lived, the more hot-blooded they tended to be.)[3]

Also in 1555 Richard Eden published (along with his translation of Peter Martyr's *Decades*) the first two accounts of English voyages to Africa--Thomas Windham's voyages to Guinea in 1553 and John Lok's voyage to Mina in 1554-1555. From the standpoint of truth, Eden marred both of these accounts by adding incredible stories, but at least one significant literary work capitalized on and was enriched by the fantasy he added. In Lok's account, Eden

> ". . . parades the men without heads--Blemines--along with Strucophagi, Anthropophagi, and all the other strange peoples of Pliny, with a gullibility surprising in such an otherwise far-sighted man. But had he not given these tales currency, Othello's life history would have been poorer, and his language less picturesque."[4]

Books of travel, that supposedly told the truth, simply reinforced Elizabethans' "psychologically" based aversion for Moors.

> "The theory of the humors, the basis of Elizabethan psychology, maintained that men were of different complexions, statures, and countenances of mind and body according to the climate of the country of their birth. This theory conveniently reserves most of the virtues for the people of the North and characterizes those of the South as jealous, superstitious, cowardly, lascivious, cruel and inhuman."[5]

Shakespeare's image of the black man was not only influenced by popular lore and books of travel (and, as we have seen, the two are

often not distinct), it was probably also infl
The Battle of Alcazar. Peele's play "gave the
full portrait of a Moor."[6] It is based upon th

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> ". . . famous battle of Alcazar in which the young Portuguese king Sebastian perished along with the flower of Portuguese youth, and in which the almost legendary Englishman captain Thomas Stukeley lost his life. In the historical accounts of the battle Muly Hamet was the villain of the piece. The son of a Negro mother, he was known as 'the black king,' and was represented as luring an innocent king to his death in the deserts of Africa. . . . Peele's play must have done a good deal to fix the stereotype of 'Moor.'"[7]

From the foregoing, one may deduce that the images of Africans mirrored in the minds of Englishmen during Shakespeare's time were highly unfavorable. During that time Englishmen held rather low opinions of foreigners in general, but they seem to have held a special contempt for the people they called Moors. They were also highly contemptuous of Italians, Jews, and Turks.

With the above background in mind, we will soon begin to examine Shakespeare's treatment of black men--Aaron and Othello--to see to what extent he makes use of the stereotypic notions and to what extent he goes against the grain. Before beginning that examination, we must establish Shakespeare's fundamental conception of these two characters; for if their basic roles in their respective plays are not made clear, then anything we say about them can easily become muddled. Harry Levin, in The Power of Blackness--a study of the force of negative romanticism in the writings of Poe, Melville, and Hawthorne--makes that fundamental distinction rather succinctly and forcefully.

> "When Shakespeare first addressed himself to tragedy, he made his villain a black man, Aaron the Moore in *Titus Andronicus*. Later, with more understanding of life's complexities, he could make a noble Moor his hero, and portray Othello victimized by a white villain known as 'honest Iago.'"[8]

Indeed, as Marion Smith puts it, "In *Othello* black is white with a vengeance."[9]

By and large, Aaron's character is in accord with two of the stereotyped notions held about blacks during the Elizabethan period--notions, which persist even today in much of the Western world, that they are lascivious and extremely cruel. Aaron is certainly not superstitious, nor is he jealous. Whether or not he is a coward is perhaps a debatable point. The present writer is more inclined to see his manipulations and opportunisms as an exploitation of Machiavellian tactics similar to those employed by Iago rather than as cowardice.

Aaron both promotes and destroys the myth that blacks are by nature lascivious. In his first speech, a soliloquy, we see him plotting to "mount aloft" with his "imperial mistress," Tamora, who by her marriage to Saturninus is out of "fortune's shot." Here he is boasting about how his sexual prowess has enslaved her:

> . . . Aaron, arm thy heart, and fit thy thoughts to Mount aloft with thy imperial mistress,
> And mount her pitch, whom thou in triumph long
> Has prisoner held fetter'd in amourous chains

> And faster bound to Aaron's charming eyes
> Than is Prometheus tied to Caucasus. (II, i, 1

Yet, when the opportunity for love-making come
enough, it is not he, but Tamora, who takes th
thoughts are on revenge:

> No, madam, these are no veneral signs.
> Vengeance is in my heart, death in my hand,
> Blood and revenge are hammering in my head.
> Hark, Tamora, the empress of my soul,
> Which never hopes more heaven than rests in th
> This is the day of doom for Bassianus;
> His Philomel must lose her tongue to-day,
> Thy sons make pillage of her chastity
> And wash their hands in Bassianus' blood. (II,

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> And faster bound to Aaron's charming eyes
> Than is Prometheus tied to Caucaus. (II, i, 12-17)

Yet, when the opportunity for love-making comes--and, interestingly enough, it is not he, but Tamora, who takes the initiative--his thoughts are on revenge:

> No, madam, these are no veneral signs.
> Vengeance is in my heart, death in my hand,
> Blood and revenge are hammering in my head.
> Hark, Tamora, the empress of my soul,
> Which never hopes more heaven than rests in thee--
> This is the day of doom for Bassianus;
> His Philomel must lose her tongue to-day,
> Thy sons make pillage of her chastity
> And wash their hands in Bassianus' blood. (II, iii, 37-45)

But, as later events in the play reveal, Aaron did, in spite of his business in plotting revenge, manage to squeeze in some of the work of Venus. Proof lies in the birth of his son by Tamora.

Aaron is not simply speaking in the guise of a lover when he tells Tamora that he "never hopes [for] more heaven than rests" in her. Throughout the play Shakespeare explodes the notion that all Moors are religious. Most Moors at the time were believed to be religious, though that was not held in their favor--because, for the most part, they certainly were not Christian. That Aaron is atheistic is evident in the dialogue which follows his avowal to Lucius that he will tell him nothing about the "wondrous" things he has performed unless Lucius will swear that his child shall live.

> Lucius. Who should I swear by? Thou believest no god. That granted,
> how canst thou believe an oath?
> Aaron. What if I do not? As, indeed, I do not.
> Yet, for I know thou art religious,
> And has a thing within thee called conscience
> With twenty popish tricks and ceremonies
> Which I have seen thee careful to observe,
> Therefore I urge thy oath. For that I know
> The idiot holds his bauble for a god,
> And keeps the oath which by that god he swears,
> To that I'll urge him. Therefore thou shalt vow
> By that same god, what god soever it be,
> That thou adorest and hast in reverence,
> To save my boy, to nourish and bring him up;
> Or else I will discover naught to thee. (V, i, 71-85)

After Lucius swears that his son will live, Aaron summarizes all of his evil deeds, and he certainly lives up to the notion that Moors are by nature cruel. It is he who instructed Demetrius and Chiron to rape Lavinia and murder Bassianus. He wrote the letter and planted the gold which implicated Titus' sons in Bassianus' murder. He played the cheater of Titus' hand and cuckolded Saturninus. After Aaron recounts all of this to Lucius, Lucius asks him, "Art thou not sorry for these heinous deeds?" (V, ii, 123). Aaron replies, "Aye that I had not done a thousand more" (V, iii, 124). Yet, for all of that we cannot accept what Mark Van Doren says about Aaron: "Aaron the Moor is the kind of villain concerning whose character there can be no curiosity, and whose

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about Aaron: "Aaron the Moor is the kind of
character there can be no curiosity, and whose

deeds therefore can not be felt horrible. They do not violate his nature for there is no nature in him."[10] Although Van Doren does not explicitly say so, the implication is that he sees Aaron as a morality figure; there is more to him than that. Aaron does evidence some humanity. Aaron's passionate defense of his son is noble; indeed, he exhibits a much more normal filial devotion than Titus who slays one of his sons simply because the latter backs Bassianus rather than Saturninus for Lavinia's hand in marriage. Moreover, Titus sacrificed twenty-two of his other sons in the various battles against Rome's enemies. Aaron is certainly no more inhumane than the other characters and Lucius is not to be excepted. Lucius, who was supposed to bind up the wounds of the state, decrees that Aaron be planted breast-deep in the earth and starved to death and that Tamora's corpse be thrown to the birds of prey. Shakespeare, even in this early play, was not content to deal with types, but with men. Suffice it to say here, that if Shakespeare is the great Christian moralist that many critics would have us believe he is, "there is a Christian category--that of the sinner--that will not constrict the humanity of anyone, because only a human being can be a sinner."[11]

In our discussion of Aaron, we have seen that Shakespeare places man and type side by side. His juxtaposition of the black man as a man and as a type is much more elaborate and intricate in Othello than it is in Titus. Shakespeare creates dramatic tension by having many of the major characters voice the various stereotypic notions about Moors and by letting Othello's true nature belie the notions. He also undercuts the testimony of most of the witnesses by showing that the testimony is prejudicial.

Let us look at some of the various notions that the characters voice about Othello. Iago tells Roderigo that Othello is a proud man who would not listen to the great ones who interceded on his behalf for the lieutenancy. He says that Othello was unable to defend his choice of Cassio and evaded the "great ones" with bombastic phrases "Horribly stuffed with epithets of war" (I, i, 14). Othello, as we shall see, is not an unsound soldier; neither is he a loud-mouthed soldier. When Brabantio and others brandish their swords at Othello, the latter replies calmly: "Put up your bright swords or the dew [blood] will rust them. /Good signior, you shall more command with years/ Than with your weapons" (I, ii, 59-61). Othello, then, is confident of his prowess, but he is not a braggadocio.

In telling Brabantio about Desdemona's and Othello's elopement, Iago depicts Othello as an ugly, subhuman creature who is contaminating the pure Desdemona:

> Even now, now, very now, an old black ram
> Is tupping your white ewe: (I, i, 88-89)
> The devil will make a grandsire of you. (I, i, 91)
> You'll have your daughter covered with a Barbary horse, you'll have your nephews neigh to you, you'll have coursers for cousins, and jennets for germans. (I, i, 111-113)[12]

To this beastly image, Roderigo adds the charge that Othello is a "gross . . . lascivious Moor" (I, i, 127). We cannot accept the testimony of prejudiced witnesses. That they are prejudiced is all too clear. Roderigo is a rejected suitor, and Iago
wronged by Othello on two counts--that he deserv
did not get and that Othello has made him a cuck
thing about Iago's character when he goes off to
of love" (I, i, 157) to the very man that he has
also get a sense of his perverted logic when he
of war the Venetians have not another of Othello
lead their business" (I, i, 153-154). Is it the
choice of Cassio for the lieutenancy is wrong?
cuts the testimony of these two witnesses before
us to judge him.

When Othello appears he shows no sign of be
"scurvy and provoking terms" (I, ii, 8) that Bra
him. Nor is he provoked by the insults of the s
peare is very careful to show that there has bee
in Othello's and Desdemona's relationship:

> That I did love the Moor to live with him,
> My downright violence and storm of fortunes
> May trumpet to the world. My heart's subdued
> Even to the very quality of my lord.
> I saw Othello's visage in his mind,
> And to his honors and his valiant parts
> Did my soul and fortunes consecrate.
> So that, dear lords, if I be left behind,
> A moth of peace, and he go to the war,
> The rites for which I love him are bereft me,

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up your bright swords or the dew [blood] will
ior, you shall more command with years/ Than with
59-61). Othello, then, is confident of his
a braggadocio.
tio about Desdemona's and Othello's elopement,
an ugly, subhuman creature who is contaminating

, an old black ram
we: (I, i, 88-89)
randsire of you. (I, i, 91)
er covered with a Barbary horse, you'll have
ou, you'll have coursers for cousins, and
(I, i, 111-113)[12]
Roderigo adds the charge that Othello is a
Moor" (I, i, 127). We cannot accept the testi-
esses. That they are prejudiced is all too

clear. Roderigo is a rejected suitor, and Iago imagines himself wronged by Othello on two counts--that he deserves a promotion which he did not get and that Othello has made him a cuckold. We learn something about Iago's character when he goes off to "show a flag and sign of love" (I, i, 157) to the very man that he has grossly berated. We also get a sense of his perverted logic when he admits that in matters of war the Venetians have not another of Othello's "fathom . . . /To lead their business" (I, i, 153-154). Is it then likely that Othello's choice of Cassio for the lieutenancy is wrong? Shakespeare then undercuts the testimony of these two witnesses before the hero appears for us to judge him.

When Othello appears he shows no sign of being perturbed at the "scurvy and provoking terms" (I, ii, 8) that Brabantio used against him. Nor is he provoked by the insults of the senators. And Shakespeare is very careful to show that there has been no sexual promiscuity in Othello's and Desdemona's relationship:

> That I did love the Moor to live with him,
> My downright violence and storm of fortunes
> May trumpet to the world. My heart's subdued
> Even to the very quality of my lord.
> I saw Othello's visage in his mind,
> And to his honors and his valiant parts
> Did my soul and fortunes consecrate.
> So that, dear lords, if I be left behind,
> A moth of peace, and he go to the war,
> The rites for which I love him are bereft me,

And I a heavy interim shall support
By his dear absence. Let me go with him. (I, iii, 249-260)

Othello very quickly seizes upon Desdemona's request to accompany him to the impending war, but he minimizes the importance of the "rites" which he, as well as she, will be bereft of if she does not accompany him:

Let her have your voices.
Vouch with me, Heaven, I therefore beg it not
To please the palate of my appetite,
Nor to comply with heat--the young affects
In me defunct--and proper satisfaction,
But to be free and bounteous to her mind.
And Heaven defend your good souls, that you think
I will your serious and great business scant
For she is with me. No, when light-winged toys
Of feathered Cupid seel with wanton dullness
My speculative and officed instruments,
That my disports corrupt and taint my business,
Let housewives make a skillet of my helm,
And all indign and base adversities
Make head against my estimation! (I, iii, 261-275)

Othello, it seems, is clearly aware of the belief that Moors are considered lascivious, and he wants to dispel that notion. We may add that Shakespeare wanted to repudiate that notion too, because "the young affects" in him "defunct" is Shakespeare's invention.

Yet, when Othello and Desdemona are united
neutral territory, Othello shows that his love
totally platonic, that the passion of youth is

Come, my dear love,
The purchase made, the fruits are to ensue--
That profit's yet to come 'tween me and you. (I

Iago knows that Desdemona's body is very importa
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(II, i, 310-311).

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defunct" is Shakespeare's invention.

Yet, when Othello and Desdemona are united in Cyprus, a more neutral territory, Othello shows that his love for Desdemona is not totally platonic, that the passion of youth is not dead:

> Come, my dear love,
> The purchase made, the fruits are to ensue--
> That profit's yet to come 'tween me and you. (II, iii, 8-10)

Iago knows that Desdemona's body is very important to Othello. In fact, Iago's allegation that Desdemona has given her body to Cassio puts Othello "into a jealousy so strong/ That judgment cannot cure" (II, i, 310-311).

Shakespeare does not predispose Othello to jealousy; he breeds it into him, via Iago, of course. Stoll is absolutely right when he says,

> "There can be no question, for those who either heed the text or hearken to critical authority, of Othello's lacking the jealous nature before temptation, and being jealous thereupon without it. . . . Though he is running counter to his source in doing so, Shakespeare has made the matter certain, not only at first hand, in the presentation of the character, but by the comment of the villain and almost everybody else in the story, the hero included."[13]

Indeed, Shakespeare is so careful not to predispose Othello to jealousy that, when he actually does become jealous, Desdemona cannot perceive it though the worldly-wise Emilia can. Observe the following dialogue between Desdemona and Emilia regarding the loss of the handkerchief:

> Des. Believe me, I had rather have lost my purse
> Full of crusados. And, but my noble Moor
> Is true of mind and made of no such baseness

> As jealous creatures are, it were enough
> *To put him to ill thinking.*
> Emil. Is he not jealous?
> Des. Who, he? I think the sun where he was born
> Drew all such humors from him. (III, iv, 25-30)

Mikhail Morozov has done analyses of the major characters in Othello based on the imagery which the characters themselves used. His study reveals that Othello's imagery falls into two distinct categories: the very lofty or poetic and the bestial.[14] The beast imagery parallels Iago's, but Othello never uses it until his mind has been poisoned by Iago. The poetic or lofty imagery is never completely abandoned, but it reappears very strongly after Othello recognizes Iago's plot. Thus, we see the Moor of a free and open nature is transformed by jealousy, "the green-eyed monster which doth mock/ the meat it feeds on" (III, iii, 166-167). Part of the effectiveness of Othello's character lies in his not being predisposed to jealousy; his free and open nature is precisely the reason Iago is able to work his heinous plan so well.

Although Shakespeare did not start out with a jealous man, he did start out with an insecure one. Matthew Proser, in The Heroic Image, makes a strong argument that Othello suffers from an inferiority complex. Othello's references to his "service to the state" as a shield against Brabantio's wrath and in defense of his reputation in his dying moments support that view. Moreover, a feeling of insecurity is probably the only significant characteristic (other than physical ones), which Aaron and Othello share. Their shared feeling of insecurity has a common source--alienation, the result of their being black in an all white society. If one can really believe that
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white society. If one can really believe that villains have or should have a credible motive for what they do, one can rationally explain Aaron's behavior only in terms of the effect of his being black, an alien, in an all white society. Moreover, would any Venetian on his wedding night, as Othello does, have to emphatically assure the governing officials that he will not "scant" their great business for the "light-winged toys of . . . Cupid"? Hardly.

Closely, perhaps inherently, related to the theme of black men as passionate and exotic figures are the themes of racial hatred and miscegenation. Let me say at the outset that it is dangerous to speculate about what Shakespeare's attitudes are towards blacks, but if any speculations are made they should be made on the basis of the plays themselves. Employing that method is still the best in spite of the difficulties inherent in the method. First, the ideas expressed in an author's work may be, but need not be, his own. In his creation of Aaron, Shakespeare was probably capitalizing upon the success of Muly Hamet. Therefore, although we are perhaps not wrong in praising Shakespeare as a great moralist, philosopher, psychologist, or whatever, we must never forget that he was first and foremost a playwright who wrote for a living. Yet, as shown implicitly in Shakespeare's treatment of black men as exotic and passionate figures, and demonstrated more explicitly in what follows, Shakespeare was not a racist. Just as we must remember that Shakespeare was well attuned to what his audiences liked, conversely we must remember that he was never a slavish imitator of the success of others. In treating the themes of racial hatred and miscegenation, he creates a dramatic tension very similar to that in his treatment of the black man as a passionate and exotic figure. His treatment of Aaron, notwithstanding the role in which he is cast, is, at worst, neutral; and his treatment of Othello is certainly favorable. One can arrive at a true picture of Shakespeare's attitudes toward blacks and miscegenation only after a careful consideration of his method of dramatic portraiture. That method is very complex, especially with the two characters with which we are concerned. Shakespeare's juxtaposition of type and man, interweaving and intertwining the two throughout his plays, has led to charges of inconsistency in character portrayal.

Critics are right in saying that he is inconsistent in portraying his characters, but it does not necessarily follow that the inconsistency is a flaw. Shakespeare possessed a vision which allowed him to peer deeply beneath the surface of things. Probably more than any other dramatist, he knew that the only consistent thing about human nature is its inconsistency. This inconsistency is probably nowhere more clearly demonstrable than in the way critics have discussed Aaron and Othello as black men.

The significance of Aaron's blackness, not whether he *is* black, has been questioned. Those who have questioned its significance wonder whether or not Shakespeare is concerned with his racial identity or the color of his soul. N. V. McCullough believes that Aaron's blackness is merely symbolic of his soul:

> "Shakespeare no doubt was using the blackness of Aaron's complexion as a symbol for the blackness of his soul; and the blackness of his offspring is to show figuratively and dramatically how black and vile evil

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begets confusion, chaos, horror, and more evil. Shakespeare, then, seems to be concerned with the evil inherent in Aaron, rather than his racial characteristics; yet as black has universally been associated with evil, Shakespeare does well to make Aaron black as coal."[15]

McCullough is right about the symbolic nature of the color black; popular lore during Shakespeare's time supports his view:

"To the Elizabethan audience, the Moor was identified with the devil because of his color. Reginald Scott states in *Discoverie of Witchcraft* (1594) that 'Of all human forms that of a Negro is considered a favorite one with demons.' Since the time of the mystery plays, the traditional color of the devil on the stage had been black. In the first play of the York cycle, *The Creation and the Fall of Lucifer*, the Devil after his fall, bemoans the change in his physical appearance from 'brighteness' to 'blackkeste' (line 100)."[16]

But McCullough's explanation does not completely explain the significance of Aaron's blackness. He would have us believe that "Shakespeare and the Elizabethan merely thought of that which was dark, black, or off-colour as exotic, undesirable, evil, or of ill omen."[17] He does not think that there are overtones of racial hatred in Shakespeare's portrayal of black men. "It is truly difficult," he holds, "to conceive that twentieth-century race consciousness was a dominant trait in the thinking of Shakespeare and the Elizabethan."[18] If what McCullough says is true, then why does Shakespeare thicken Scene Two of Act IV in *Titus Andronicus* with abusive racist dialogue--bandied back and forth by Aaron, the Nurse, Demetrius and Chiron? It is sufficient to note here that before any of the villainy that Aaron contrives is actually committed, Lavinia and Bassianus chide Tamora for her involvement with Aaron in language which indicates that they are not merely concerned with the fact that Saturninus is being cuckolded, but also with the color of the one who is doing the cuckolding:

> Lav. Under your patience, gentle Empress,
> 'Tis thought you have a goodly gift in horning,
> And to be doubted that your Moor and you
> Are singled forth to try experiments.
> Jove shield your husband from his hounds today!
> 'Tis pity they should take him for a stag.
> Bas. Believe me, Queen, your swarth Cimmerian
> Doth make you honor of his body's hue,
> Spotted, detested, and abominable.
> Why are you sequestered from all your train,
> Dismounted from your snow-white goodly steed,
> And wandered hither to an obscure plot,
> Accompanied but with a barbarous Moor,
> If foul desire had not conducted you?
> Lav. And, being intercepted in your sport,
> Great reason that my noble lord be rated
> For sauciness--I pray you, let us hence,
> And let her joy her raven-colored love.
> This valley fits the purpose passing well. (II, iii, 66-84, emphasis mine)

McCullough's assertion that "The race concept, though probably only incidental to Shakespeare and the Elizabethan, has been magnified to major proportion, but this reaction is doubtless the result of

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modern-day Negrophobia"[19] is at best only a half-truth. No doubt some magnification of the racial problem has happened since Shakespeare's time, simply if for no other reason than the fact that the number of both the contemned and contemners has increased. To say, however, that the race concept is only incidental to Shakespeare and the Elizabethan is a gross exaggeration of the facts, both historically and literarily. We may gain some notion of the Elizabethan's sentiment regarding blacks by the action Queen Elizabeth took against them:

> There were so many Negroes in London by 1601 that Elizabeth had cause to be "discontented at the great number of 'Negars and blackamoors' which are crept into the realm since the troubles between her highness and the King of Spain," and for her to appoint a certain Caspar Van Zeuden, merchant of Lubeck, to transport them out of the country. *Statements that Shakespeare and his fellow dramatists did not know what Moors or Negroes looked like merely ignore the available evidence*.[20]

This excerpt implies that Elizabeth's actions were politically rather than racially oriented, but the political implications do not necessarily negate racism since the popular lore, books of travel, and the theory of the humors had already conditioned attitudes towards blacks.

The last sentence of the above passage is italicized for two reasons. First, underscoring it fulfills my promise at the beginning of this paper to show that Shakespeare probably had the opportunity to observe blacks. Second, it conveniently leads into my discussion of the attempts of some critics to change Othello's, but not Aaron's, racial identity. The words of McCullough are illuminating here.

> "Some scholars . . . say that Othello is not a Negro; others contend that he is; and even some insist that he is white. Seemingly the general approach to Shakespeare's use of men of colour is emotional and based upon the culture attitude toward race. Othello's marriage to Desdemona naturally causes nausea to all who fear miscegenation of the races; but since the marriage is a fact, it is more convenient for some to say that Othello is not a Negro, thus alleviating, somehow, that which is considered repugnant."[21]

McCullough is undeniably right that the approach is "emotional and based on the culture attitude toward race."

A. C. Bradley demonstrates very pointedly how differently critics view the two black characters we are considering. The following passages indicate that some critics have attempted to whitewash Othello to make his hue more acceptable:

> There is a question, which though of little consequence, is not without dramatic interest, whether Shakespeare imagined him [Othello] as a negro [sic] and not as a Moor. Now I will not say that Shakespeare imagined him as a negro and not as a Moor, for that might imply that he distinguished negroes and Moors precisely as we do; but what appears to me nearly certain is that he imagined Othello as a black man, and not as a light-brown one.
>
> In the first place we must remember that the brown or bronze, to which we are now accustomed in the Othellos of our theatres is a recent innovation. Down to Edmund Kean's time, so far as is known, Othello was always quite black. This stage-tradition goes back to the Restoration, and it almost settles our question. For it is impossible that the colour of the original Othello should have bee
> after Shakespeare's time, and most improbably that
> changed from brown to black.[22]

Yet in 1941 G. L. Kittredge asserted unequivocally
Moorish noble of royal lineage. . . . Shakespeare
oriental."[23]

Let us now return to Bradley to get to the h
attempts to bleach Othello, but not Aaron:

> No one who reads Titus Andronicus with an open mi
> Aaron was, in our sense, black; and he appears to
> The horror of most American critics (Mr. Furness
> at the idea of a black Othello is very amusing, a
> highly instructive. But they were anticipated, I
> Coleridge, and we will hear from him. "No doubt D
> Othello's visage in his mind. Yet, as we are con
> surely as an English audience was disposed in the
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> beautiful Venetian girl falling in love with a ve
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> es our question. For it is impossible that

> the colour of the original Othello should have been forgotten so soon after Shakespeare's time, and most improbably that it should have been changed from brown to black.[22]

Yet in 1941 G. L. Kittredge asserted unequivocally that Othello is "a Moorish noble of royal lineage. . . . Shakespeare conceives him as an oriental."[23]

Let us now return to Bradley to get to the heart of the reason for attempts to bleach Othello, but not Aaron:

> No one who reads Titus Andronicus with an open mind can doubt that Aaron was, in our sense, black; and he appears to be a negro. . . . The horror of most American critics (Mr. Furness is a bright exception) at the idea of a black Othello is very amusing, and their arguments are highly instructive. But they were anticipated, I regret to say, by Coleridge, and we will hear from him. "No doubt Desdemona saw Othello's visage in his mind. Yet, as we are constituted, and more surely as an English audience was disposed in the beginning of the seventeenth century, it would be something monstrous to conceive this beautiful Venetian girl falling in love with a veritable negro. It would argue a disproportionateness, a want of balance, in Desdemona which Shakespeare does not appear to have in the least contemplated."[24]

Ah, there's the rub! Had Tamora merited the sympathy that Desdemona merits and had Aaron been noble, then attempts would have been made to whitewash him. Regarding the absurdity of Coleridge's remark, Bradley continues:

> Could any argument be more self-destructive? It did appear to Brabantio "something monstrous" to conceive his daughter falling in

> love with Othello,--so monstrous that he could account for her love only by drugs and foul charms. And the suggestion that Iago *did* make in Desdemona's case:
>
> Foh! one may smell in such a will most rank,
> Foul *disproportion*, thoughts unnatural.
>
> In fact he spoke of the marriage exactly as a filthy-minded cynic might now speak of the marriage of an English lady to a negro like Toussaint. Thus the argument of Coleridge and others points straight to the conclusion which they argue.[25]

Had Othello been the villain and Iago the hero, there is little doubt that a critic, writing as late as 1957, would take the reference to Othello's "sooty bosom" to mean that he had a "hairy chest."[26] Critics of that ilk are guilty of fuzzy thinking. They cannot perceive in Shakespeare that although "black may be the devil's hue, . . . the Soul which informs a black skin may be as stygian as Aaron's, as 'fair' as Othello's, or as neutral as the Prince of Morocco's."[27]

There is no doubt in my mind that Shakespeare conceived Othello to be a black man, and Bernard Spivack is absolutely right when he says that miscegenation is one of the major themes of the play and that Shakespeare emphasizes it in order to transcend it:

> Through Desdemona and the Moor he dramatizes his own high sentiment on the spiritual possibilities in human love--that "Marriage of true minds" of the sonnets which finds its precise echo in Desdemona's words. Their love is neither the fancy of the eye nor the lust of the blood but an essential attraction of soul overleaping the accidental barriers of race, place, habits, manners, years. . . . It is important to the poet's purpose that Desdemona should see with o
> married, that while delighting in "his honours
> she should not overlook in him or in their unio
> besides must stare and point at; and so she rep
> world upon the main issue:
>
> That I did love the Moor to live with him,
> My downright violence, and storm of fortun
> May trumpet to the world. My heart's subd
> Even to the very quality of my lord.
> I saw Othello's visage in his mind. . . .
>
> She knows what she is doing, and she knows it f
> firmness and clarity that astonishes her father
> The regret with which Cinthio's heroine was sha
> ness signaled the tempest never occurs to Shake
> had never seen him!" cries Emilia, whose inclin
> are entrenched on the lower levels of reality.
> replies Desdemona, "My love doth so approve him

To be sure then, Desdemona's and Othello's
not lustful; if it is anything it is spiritual.
their relationship as *spiritual* does not negate
Lust is defined here as excessive passion for s
brief, *spiritual* is not to be equated with *Plat*
there are so many persons in the play who belie
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and the reactions of certain principal characte

monstrous that he could account for her love
charms. And the suggestion that Iago *did* make

l in such a will most rank,
n, thoughts unnatural.
e marriage exactly as a filthy-minded cynic might
age of an English lady to a negro like Toussaint.
Coleridge and others points straight to the
argue.[25]
the villain and Iago the hero, there is little
riting as late as 1957, would take the reference
som" to mean that he had a "hairy chest."[26] Crit-
uilty of fuzzy thinking. They cannot perceive in
ugh "black may be the devil's hue, . . . the Soul
skin may be as stygian as Aaron's, as 'fair' as
al as the Prince of Morocco's."[27]
in my mind that Shakespeare conceived Othello to
rnard Spivack is absolutely right when he says
one of the major themes of the play and that
it in order to transcend it:
the Moor he dramatizes his own high sentiment on
lities in human love--that "Marriage of true
which finds its precise echo in Desdemona's words.
the fancy of the eye nor the lust of the blood
ction of soul overleaping the accidental barriers
, manners, years. . . . It is important to the

poet's purpose that Desdemona should see with open eyes the man she has married, that while delighting in "his honours and his valiant parts," she should not overlook in him or in their union what all the world besides must stare and point at; and so she replies directly to the world upon the main issue:

> That I did love the Moor to live with him,
> My downright violence, and storm of fortunes,
> May trumpet to the world. My heart's subdu'd
> Even to the very quality of my lord.
> I saw Othello's visage in his mind. . . . (I, iii, 249-253)

She knows what she is doing, and she knows it forever with that kind of firmness and clarity that astonishes her father, and us today as well. The regret with which Cinthio's heroine was shaken when gathering darkness signaled the tempest never occurs to Shakespeare's. "I would you had never seen him!" cries Emilia, whose inclinations, honest enough, are entrenched on the lower levels of reality. "So would not I," replies Desdemona, "My love doth so approve him."[28]

To be sure then, Desdemona's and Othello's love for each other is not lustful; if it is anything it is spiritual. (My description of their relationship as *spiritual* does not negate "normal" sexual desires. Lust is defined here as excessive passion for sexual indulgence. In brief, *spiritual* is not to be equated with *Platonic*.) But, because there are so many persons in the play who believe that their marriage is based on lust and because Othello eventually comes to believe that Desdemona has broken her marriage vows, we must look at the allegations and the reactions of certain principal characters which brought about consequences which could not have been more dire had their marriage been tinged with lust. Although nearly everyone in the play except Cassio believes that the match is against nature, we shall concern ourselves with the allegations and actions of the three characters who are most responsible for the fiasco--Brabantio, Roderigo, and Iago. They are the principal outside forces which destroy what should have been an ideal marriage.

We have already observed that Brabantio could not believe that Othello could have won Desdemona's love except through witchcraft. It is an opinion which he voices several times.[29] The first time is to Roderigo:

> Oh Heaven! How got she out? Oh, treason of the blood!
> Fathers, from hence trust not your daughters' minds
> By what you see them act. Are there not charms
> By which the property of youth and maidhood
> May be abused? Have you not read, Roderigo,
> Of such things? (I, ii, 170-174)

Earlier, he had found Roderigo unsuitable for Desdemona's hand, but now he exclaims to him, "Oh, would you had had her!" (I, ii, 176). This remark no doubt helps to make Roderigo a more effective pawn for Iago.

At first sight, it seems that Roderigo believes in the true nature of Desdemona's and Othello's love for each other. When the Duke does not back Brabantio's suit to dissolve the marriage and have Othello imprisoned, Roderigo threatens to drown himself. However, Iago buoys up his hopes by reiterating the assumptions that Brabantio makes in his other three speeches about Othello's use of witchcraft to win his

daughter and by reducing love to "merely a lust o
permission of the will" (I, iii, 338-339):

> She must change for youth. When she is sated wit
> find the error of her choice. She must have cha
> fore put money in thy purse. If thou wilt needs
> more delicate way than drowning. Make all the mo
> sanctimony and a frail vow betwixt an erring barb
> subtle Venetian be not too hard for my wits and a
> thou shalt enjoy her--therefore make money. A po
> self! It is clean out of the way. Seek thou rat
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> 356-368)

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daughter and by reducing love to "merely a lust of the blood and permission of the will" (I, iii, 338-339):

> She must change for youth. When she is sated with his body, she will find the error of her choice. She must have change, she must--therefore put money in thy purse. If thou wilt needs damn thyself, do it a more delicate way than drowning. Make all the money thou canst. If sanctimony and a frail vow betwixt an erring barbarian and a super-subtle Venetian be not too hard for my wits and all the tribe of Hell, thou shalt enjoy her--therefore make money. A pox on drowning thyself! It is clean out of the way. Seek thou rather to be hanged in compassing thy joy than to be drowned and go without her. (I, iii, 356-368)

Though he asks for Iago's help in being able to enjoy her, Roderigo does not really believe Iago's slanderous remarks about Desdemona. When Iago tells him that Desdemona loves Cassio, Roderigo replies, "I cannot believe that in her. She's full of/ most blest condition" (II, i, 254-255). Yet, he is willing to help Iago in his plan to displace Cassio as lieutenant because he foolishly believes that Iago will make "shorter journey to [his] desires" (II, i, 284).

It is worth noting at this point that Iago himself does not believe that the marriage is based on lust. As soon as Roderigo leaves, he goes into another stock-taking soliloquy (II, i, 295-321), which is filled with contradictions. He admits that Othello has a nobility about him which will make Desdemona "a most dear husband," although he had told Roderigo (II, i, 227-238) that Othello is defective in all the qualities for that role. Yet, if one lies to himself long enough and hard enough, he eventually comes to mistake the lies for truth. Cassio loves Desdemona too. Why does Iago "love" her? Let him speak for himself:

> Now, I do love her too,
> Not out of absolute lust, though peradventure
> I stand accountant for as great a sin,
> But partly led to diet my revenge
> For that I do suspect the lusty Moor
> Hath leaped into my seat. The thought whereof
> Doth like a poisonous mineral gnaw my inwards.
> And nothing can or shall content my soul
> Till I am evened with him, wife for wife. (II, ii, 300-308)

What are we to make of the first three lines of the speech when the same man has already told us that love is "merely a lust of the blood and a permission of the will" (I, iii, 338-339)? This is the second time that he says he believes Othello has whored his wife (cf. I, iii, 392-396). In lines which follow the passage quoted above, he tells us for the first time that he has a second reason for wanting to diet his revenge on Cassio: "I fear Cassio with my nightcap too" (II, i, 316).

Cassio fits well into Iago's scheme of double knavery for three reasons. First of all, in Iago's words,

> He hath a person and a smooth dispose
> To be suspected, framed to make women false. (I, iii, 403-404)

Second, he has very "poor and/ unhappy brains for drinking" (II, iii, 34-35). Drinking causes him to become involved in a brawl with Roderigo and to wound Montano; as a result, Othello dismisses him from

his position. Upon Iago's suggestion, Cassio a
his reinstatement. When he does, Iago plants t
mind that Desdemona wishes him reinstated so th
serve her lust (cf. II, iii, 359-363). Iago is
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> Look to her Moor, if thou hast eye to see.
> She has deceived her father, and may thee. (I,

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his position. Upon Iago's suggestion, Cassio asks Desdemona to sue for his reinstatement. When he does, Iago plants the notion in Othello's mind that Desdemona wishes him reinstated so that he may conveniently serve her lust (cf. II, iii, 359-363). Iago is able to trap Othello into believing his charge because he knows that Cassio is loose in his sex life. Because he is loose in that respect, Iago is able to engineer the device by which Othello is given the "proof" he needs to believe Desdemona has been false to him (cf. IV, i).

To conclude our discussion of the outside forces which lead to the tragedy in Othello, let us return briefly to Brabantio. We have looked at two ways in which Iago utilizes his charges that Othello used witchcraft to seduce Desdemona. Iago reiterates those charges to Roderigo to achieve two things--to get Roderigo to aid him in defaming Cassio and to keep Roderigo both his fool and his purse. More instrumental to Iago, however, is the admonition Brabantio gives Othello after he has failed in all attempts to retrieve his daughter:

> Look to her Moor, if thou hast eye to see.
> She has deceived her father, and may thee. (I, iii, 293-294)

Iago is present when these words are spoken; he later uses them in the transformation scene (III, iii) to work some witchcraft of his own, and the potion contains only one ingredient--his skillful manipulation.

Brabantio's words seem to be echoing in Iago's head in the transformation scene:

> Iago. Look to your wife. Observe her well with Cassio.
> Wear your eye thus, not jealous, nor secure.
> I would not have your free and noble nature

Out of self-bounty be abused, look to't.
I know our country disposition well.
In Venice they do let Heaven see the pranks
They dare not show their husbands. Their best conscience
Is not to leave it undone, but keep 't unknown.
Oth. Dost thou say so?
Iago. She did deceive her father, marrying you,
And when she seemed to shake and fear your looks,
She loved them most.
Oth. And so she did.
Iago. Why, go to, then.
She that so young could give out such a seeming
To seel her father's eyes as close as oak--
He thought 'twas witchcraft--but I am much to blame.
I humbly do beseech you of your pardon
For too much loving you.
Oth. I am bound to thee forever.
Iago. I see this hath a little dashed your spirits.
Oth. Not a jot, not a jot. (III, iii, 197-214)

But Othello's spirits have been dashed; and as Iago lays it on thicker, observe what happens to "Not a jot, not a jot":

No, not much moved (l. 225)
Oh, curse of marriage
That we can call these delicate creatures ours,
And not their appetites! (ll. 268-270)
Thou has set me on the rack.

I swear 'tis better to be much abused
Than to know 't a little. (ll. 335-337)
Villain, be sure thou prove my love a whore,
Be sure of it, give me the occular proof. (ll. 3

The black magic that Iago works in the transforma
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Be sure of it, give me the occular proof. (ll. 359-360)

The black magic that Iago works in the transformation scene, then, is heavily dependent upon his invoking Brabantio's admonition. Before he invokes these words Othello is determined to see before doubting and once doubting prove. He is so shaken by the power of Iago's words that he doubts before he sees, and the "proof" turns out to be "Trifles light as air" (III, iii, 322). Thus, we see clearly how the "marriage of true minds," between Othello was destroyed by racial hatred.

In a sense there is a "marriage of true minds" between Tamora and Aaron too. Though they are not married in a legal sense, their minds are one in villainy, and they deserve each other as much as Othello and Desdemona do. Taking into consideration the prevailing attitudes towards blacks during Shakespeare's time, his treatment of the corollary themes of racial hatred and miscegenation in Titus and in Othello is not only favorable, but very objective as well. (We must always keep in mind that the greatest degree of objectivity is but subjectivity minimized.) No one who has read Othello with some knowledge of Shakespeare's artistry and with careful attention to detail can deny that Othello is anything except noble and heroic. Aaron, though rather crudely portrayed when compared to Shakespeare's other villains, is certainly no more ignoble than they. To be sure, he possesses almost as much, if not as much, humanity as his later counterparts. And if anyone believes that Aaron is less liked by Shakespeare because he is black, he need only be reminded that Shakespeare has Aaron utter words which make the current expression, "Black is beautiful," seem impotent: "Coal-black is *better* than another hue/ In that it scorns to bear another hue" (IV, ii, 99-100, emphasis mine).

Yet, despite the foregoing, one should not minimize the importance of the racism that exists in either of these plays (and this is not the same thing as labeling Shakespeare a racist). Neither Othello nor Aaron can be fully appreciated if the effects of their being black in white societies are not taken into consideration. K. W. Evans is absolutely right in his assessment of Renaissance dramatists' use of African characters:

> Dramatists using African characters could play upon certain social and religious prejudices, and these characters also ministered to a taste for the strange and exotic. The care taken to distinguish white from black Moors probably indicates that the former were regarded as intermediate, in colour and civilized refinement, between the negro [*sic*] and the European. The white Moor was half-civilized, so to speak, and might at any time relapse into the barbarism of his darker cousin. These circumstances left the dramatist free to manipulate such diverse reactions as wonder, fear, revulsion, amusement and even qualified respect in constructing a particular African character. It would, though, be very difficult to produce a fully sympathetic Moorish portrait.[30]

Presently, the present author wishes not only to buttress the assertion that Othello is a black Moor, but also show that Shakespeare clearly had Aaron in mind when he created Othello.

When Desdemona tells Othello that he is "
roll so" (V, ii, 37-38), it seems that Shakesp
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Roderigo describes Othello's lips as thick
Aaron's "thick-lipped" (IV, ii, 175) son certai
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me and half thy dam" (V, i, 27). Nowhere in *Ot*
cation that Othello is a "tawny" or half-white
is associated with the devil, whose color, as w
tionally black. Brabantio says that Othello's
70). He himself says, "I am black" (III, iii,
terpart is likened to a "black ill-favored fly"
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When Desdemona tells Othello that he is "fatal" when his "eyes roll so" (V, ii, 37-38), it seems that Shakespeare has in mind Aaron's reference to his "deadly-standing eye" while he is plotting "fatal execution" (II, iii, 32 & 36) and Lucius' reference to Aaron as a "Walled-eyed slave" (V, i, 44). When the Nurse calls the black child a "devil" (IV, ii, 64) and "A joyless, dismal, black and sorrowful issue" (IV, ii, 66), she sounds like Iago telling Brabantio "an old black ram/ is tupping your white ewe/ . . . the Devil will make a grandsire of you" (I, i, 88-91). When trying to convince Roderigo that he still has a chance of winning Desdemona in spite of her being married to Othello, Iago speaks of the couple in this manner:

> Her eyes must be fed, and what delight shall she have to look on the *Devil*? (II, i, 227-229, emphasis mine)

Lucius refers to Aaron as "the incarnate devil" (V, i, 40).

Roderigo describes Othello's lips as thick (cf. I, i, 66). Aaron's "thick-lipped" (IV, ii, 175) son certainly did not inherit his lips from Tamora. Moreover, Aaron calls his son a "tawny slave half me and half thy dam" (V, i, 27). Nowhere in *Othello* is there any indication that Othello is a "tawny" or half-white Moor. Numerous times he is associated with the devil, whose color, as we have seen, is traditionally black. Brabantio says that Othello's bosom is "sooty" (I, ii, 70). He himself says, "I am black" (III, iii, 263). His earlier counterpart is likened to a "black ill-favored fly" (III, ii, 66) and compares himself to a "black dog" (V, i, 122). Emilia describes Othello as a "filthy bargain," "gull," "dolt," and "ignorant as dirt" (V, ii, 157 & 164). No reference is made to the texture of Othello's hair--

Aaron describes his as "woolly" (II, iii, 34)--but in all other respects Othello and Aaron share the same *physical* characteristics. The absence of any reference to that one characteristic which would make Othello an almost exact physical replica of Aaron certainly cannot overwhelm the other evidence. Their moral fiber is, of course, another matter; and, as already asserted, they both share a deep-rooted sense of insecurity.

While Othello's characterization is "certainly remote from stereotyping," his "portrait draws heavily upon an established stage tradition, and clearly Shakespeare could hardly have avoided such a connection entirely. Even when it diverges from the tradition, attention is still directed to associated ideas. . . ."[31] There can be no doubt, then, either for those who heed textual evidence and/or sound critical judgment that Shakespeare draws heavily upon the prevailing attitudes towards Moorishness in his treatment of the themes of the black man as an exotic and passionate figure, racial hatred, and miscegenation in *Titus* and *Othello*.

FOOTNOTES

1. For a more detailed examination than I can
influence of travel literature on the Afric
Eldred Jones' *Othello's Countrymen: The Af*
aissance Drama (London, 1965), pp. 1-26. H
In addition, one should also see Chapter I-
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applicable to the drama.
2. *Mandeville's Travels*, which Jones character
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phy to be published in the fifteenth centur
Englishmen (for the first time on a large s
of Prester John, a rich, white Christian ki
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3. Jones, p. 8.
4. *Ibid*., p. 11.

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FOOTNOTES

1. For a more detailed examination than I can give here of the influence of travel literature on the African image, consult Eldred Jones' *Othello's Countrymen: The African in English Renaissance Drama* (London, 1965), pp. 1-26. Hereafter cited as Jones. In addition, one should also see Chapter I--"First Impressions: Initial English Confrontations with Africans"--of Winthrop Jordan's *White Over Black: American Attitudes Toward the Negro, 1550-1812* (Chapel Hill, 1968). Jordan (pp. 1-43), because of the nature of his study, gives a more extensive treatment to Renaissance travel literature than Jones. Jordan's treatment is applicable to the drama.
2. *Mandeville's Travels*, which Jones characterizes as "the most significant publication in the realm of regional and human geography to be published in the fifteenth century" (p. 5), acquainted Englishmen (for the first time on a large scale), with the legend of Prester John, a rich, white Christian king who lived in Africa. Prester John was supposedly nine-hundred years old at the time *Travels* was published, his longevity the result of his bathing in a "miraculous stream." *Travels* also helped to create the notion that all Africans were black, despite the fact that there were many Africans whose complexions approximated that of Europeans.
3. Jones, p. 8.
4. *Ibid*., p. 11.

5. Philip Butcher, "Othello's Racial Identity," *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 3 (1952), pp. 246-47.
6. Jones, p. 14.
7. *Ibid*.
8. (New York: Knopf, 1958) p. 31.
9. *Dualities in Shakespeare* (Toronto, 1966), p. 36. Hereafter cited as Smith.
10. *Shakespeare* (Garden City, New York, 1939), p. 28.
11. Robert E. Fitch, *Shakespeare: The Perspective of Value* (Philadelphia, 1969), p. 101.
12. W. H. Auden claims that passages like these three I have quoted "are evidence that the paranoid fantasies of the white man in which the negro [*sic*] appears as someone who is at one and the same time less capable of self-control and more sexually potent than himself, fantasies with which, alas, we are only too familiar, already were rampant in Shakespeare's time." "The Alienated City: Reflections on 'Othello,'" *Encounter*, August, 1961, p. 10.
13. Elmer Edgar Stoll, *Art and Artifice in Shakespeare* (New York, 1962), p. 11.
14. "The Individualization of Shakespeare's Characters Through Imagery," *Shakespeare Survey*, 2 (1949), pp. 84-7.
15. Norman Verrle McCullough, *The Negro in English Literature* (Devon, England, 1962), p. 32. Hereafter cited as McCullough.
16. Henning Cohen, "Shakespeare's Merchant of Venice II. viii. 78-79," *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 2 (1951), 79.
17. McCullough, p. 26.
18. *Ibid*.
19. *Ibid*.
20. Jones, pp. 12-13. Auden, then, is right w
of the flourishing slave trade "the Elizab
innocents to whom a negro [*sic*] was simply
Alienated City," *Encounter*, August, 1961,
21. McCullough, p. 23.
22. *Shakespearean Tragedy* (London, 1965), p. 16
Bradley.
23. Ed., *The Tragedy of Othello: The Moor of*
p. xi.
24. Bradley, pp. 163-4.
25. *Ibid*., p. 164.
26. According to McCullough (pp. 39-40), Blanch
absurd conjecture in her *Shakespeare's Four*
Hampshire, 1957), p. 80.
27. Smith, *Dualities*, p. 31.
28. *Shakespeare and the Allegory of Evil* (New Y
29. Brabantio reiterates his charge on three mo
63-79; I, iii, 60-63; and I, iii, 95-105).
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30. "The Racial Factor in Othello," *Shakespeare*
pp. 124-5.
31. *Ibid*., p. 125.

thello's Racial Identity," Shakespeare

), pp. 246-47.

1958) p. 31.

speare (Toronto, 1966), p. 36. Hereafter cited

n City, New York, 1939), p. 28.

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hello,'" Encounter, August, 1961, p. 10.

Art and Artifice in Shakespeare (New York,

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are Survey, 2 (1949), pp. 84-7.

llough, The Negro in English Literature (Devon,

32. Hereafter cited as McCullough.

akespeare's Merchant of Venice II. viii. 78-79,"

rly, 2 (1951), 79.

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18. Ibid.
19. Ibid.
20. Jones, pp. 12-13. Auden, then, is right when he said that because of the flourishing slave trade "the Elizabethans were certainly no innocents to whom a negro [sic] was simply a comic exotic." "The Alienated City," Encounter, August, 1961, p. 10.
21. McCullough, p. 23.
22. Shakespearean Tragedy (London, 1965), p. 162. Hereafter cited as Bradley.
23. Ed., The Tragedy of Othello: The Moor of Venice (Boston, 1941), p. xi.
24. Bradley, pp. 163-4.
25. Ibid., p. 164.
26. According to McCullough (pp. 39-40), Blanche Cole makes this absurd conjecture in her Shakespeare's Four Giants (Rindge, New Hampshire, 1957), p. 80.
27. Smith, Dualities, p. 31.
28. Shakespeare and the Allegory of Evil (New York, 1958), p. 421.
29. Brabantio reiterates his charge on three more occasions (I, ii, 63-79; I, iii, 60-63; and I, iii, 95-105). His charge does not hold up, because as the Duke says, "To vouch it is no proof."
30. "The Racial Factor in Othello," Shakespeare Studies, 5 (1969), pp. 124-5.
31. Ibid., p. 125.

RACE AND SEXUALITY IN AMERICAN LITERATURE

by

Roger Whitlow
Eastern Illinois University
Charleston, Illinois

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SEXUALITY IN AMERICAN LITERATURE

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Like many of the issues which must be understood and subsequently explained by humanists and social scientists, the relationship between race and sexuality in America is one which is, at best, ambiguous to treat. The ambiguity is the logical product of the nature of the relationship itself--a plethora of intersecting, intertwining, contradicting, and infrequently harmonious human desires, cultural prejudices, and historical accidents. While some of the facets of this relationship are not yet fully understood--or, as seems more often the case, remain rather badly misunderstood--a rapidly growing consensus of opinion among social theorists indicates that the relationship itself lies very near the core of that historical tangle called "American race relations." This fundamental position in race consciousness explains, no doubt, why the race-sexuality subject is one of the most frequently treated in American literature.

The issue of race and sexuality--usually the issue of the nature of black sexuality--is one which runs through both historical and literary documents from virtually the beginning of America. In his essay, "The Image of the Negro in Colonial Literature,"[1] Milton Cantor points out that, though the first blacks in America were not technically "slaves," because blacks were immediately "set apart from the first and never treated as the equal of the white settler, free or servant, assurances that the discriminatory word 'slave' was rarely applied to the Negro in the early decades of settlement are irrelevant." And about the portrayal of blacks in literature, Cantor continues that "colonial literature touching on the Negro is explicit: the earliest settlers viewed him as different and inferior."[2]

Given this widespread assumption in Colonial America, then, that blacks were different *in kind* from whites, the corollary assumptions are, of course, predictable: namely that blacks therefore had "different"--i.e., more primitive--physical, social, and intellectual ideas and impulses than their white Colonial counterparts. A summary of these assumed impulses is found in the blatantly racist poem written by John Saffin titled "The Negroes' Character":

> "Cowardly and cruel, are those *Blacks* Innate,
> Prone to Revenge, Imp of Inveterate hate,
> He that exasperates them; soon espies
> Mischief and Murder in their eyes.
> Libidinous, Deceitful, false and Rude,
> The spume issue of Ingratitude."[3]

Of all the denigrating characteristics attributed to blacks, however, by Saffin and by others, "libidinous" has proven to be the most threatening, in day-to-day social situations as well as in the white reception to the literature of black Americans. Thomas Detter, for example, the author of *Nellie Brown, or The Jealous Wife, With Other Sketches* (1871), felt compelled by conventions of the time to have his name appear on the title page of his book as "Thomas Detter, (Colored)." More important, he felt compelled to promise, immediately following his name, "This work is perfectly chaste and moral in every particular." One of America's finest authors, Claude McKay, found himself, a half-century after Detter, facing assumptions similar to those which Detter tried to allay with his title-page apologies. McKay describes in his autobiography, *A Long Way From Home* (1937), one of the English reviews of his early collection of poems, "Spring in New

> "Said the *Spectator* critic: '*Spring in New*
> extrinsically as well as intrinsically interest
> man who is a pure-blooded Negro . . . Perhaps th
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> "Said the Spectator critic: 'Spring in New Hampshire is extrinsically as well as intrinsically interesting. It is written by a man who is a pure-blooded Negro . . . Perhaps the ordinary reader's first impulse in realizing that the book is by an American Negro is to inquire into its good taste. Not until we are satisfied that his work does not overstep the barriers which a not quite explicable but deep instinct in us is ever alive to maintain can we judge it with genuine fairness. Mr. Claude McKay never offends our sensibilities. His love poetry is clear of the hint which would put our racial instinct against him, whether we would or not.'
>
> So there it bobbed up again. As it was among the elite of the class-conscious working class: the bugaboo of sex--the African's sex, whether he is a poet or pugilist."[4]

McKay is right, of course; the critic's problem ("the ordinary reader's first impulse") on the matter of "good taste," or not overstepping "the barriers," is indeed quite explicable: McKay is black; therefore he, as poet, must not reveal "distasteful impulses" in his love (sex?) poetry.

One of the most useful theories for explaining the white fear of black sexuality, hence the stormy relationship between race and sexuality in America generally, is the archetypal schema of class-fragmented sexuality described by Eldridge Cleaver in the "Primeval Mitosis" section of Soul on Ice. Here Cleaver postulates that

> "The Class Society projects a fragmented sexual image. Each class projects a sexual image coinciding with its class-function in society.

> . . . The source of the fragmentation of the Self in Class Society lies in the alienation between the function of man's Mind and the function of his Body. Man as thinker performs an Administrative Function in society. Man as doer performs a Brute Power Function. These two basic functions I symbolize, when they are embodied in living men functioning in society, as the Omnipotent Administrator and the Supermasculine Menial."[5]

In a class society, Cleaver posits, the Omnipotent Administrator, as he competes for power with others like himself, repudiates the "component of Brute Power" in himself, in effect abdicating the "doer," or performer in himself as he becomes more exclusively concerned with his role as thinker and power manager. In short, he turns the male body functions over to the Supermasculine Menial in the socio-economic classes under his control. On a strictly economic level, this arrangement is a satisfactory one for the Omnipotent Administrator, for he has attained the power that he aspired to, and he has, in the Supermasculine Menial, a strong and efficient work force on which an economy thrives.

What has occurred, of course, is that the Omnipotent Administrator has purchased his socio-economic power at the cost of his own sexuality--and it happens so gradually that he is unaware of his own diminution of sexual power until it is impossible to reclaim the vital loss. The lateness of his awareness of his own loss of body power, Cleaver shows, is made possible by the woman who is his counterpart in the ruling class--the Ultrafeminine who, because she senses the process of self-emasculation, or "effeminizing," that her man is undergoing, "is required to possess and project an image that is in sharp contrast

to his, more sharply feminine than his, so that t
her man can still, by virtue of the sharp contras
ninity, be perceived as masculine."[6] The female
for the Ultrafeminine is the Subfeminine, the wom
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to his, more sharply feminine than his, so that the effeminate image of her man can still, by virtue of the sharp contrast in degrees of femininity, be perceived as masculine."[6] The female who serves as contrast for the Ultrafeminine is the Subfeminine, the woman of the lower classes who gradually assumes more and more of the "Domestic Function" of the Ultrafeminine. The result of this transfer of responsibility, added to the Ultrafeminine's greater and greater effeminizing of herself, is that the Subfeminine becomes a kind of domestic beast while the Ultrafeminine becomes something of a sexual cipher.

While Cleaver's class-sex theory applies to various economic arrangements, from European class structures to Far Eastern caste systems, it is particularly informing to note its correspondence to the history of the relationships between race and sexuality in America, as revealed in both the social theory and the literature produced by Americans. Put simply, Cleaver's Omnipotent Administrator becomes the white male; the Supermasculine Menial becomes the black male; the Ultrafeminine becomes the white female (especially the white southern female); and the Subfeminine becomes the black female.

Adding to Cleaver's foundation theory the conclusions of social researchers, psychologists and psychiatrists, and literally hundreds of American authors of fiction, drama, poetry, and the essay, one finds that clear answers begin to emerge to questions like: Why have white American males historically been paranoiac about the sexual "threat" of black males to white women? What lies at the base of the attraction/repulsion sexual impulses of white women toward black men? What lies at the base of the attraction/retribution sexual impulses of black men toward white women? What are the fundamental differences between the sexual impulses operating in the black man/white woman relationship and those operating in the black woman/white man relationship?

The first question must be answered before the others are approached, for the momentum which drives forward many of the race-sexuality tensions comes from the social projections of the white male's sexual insecurity. Cleaver's Omnipotent Administrator suddenly becomes aware that he has created, in the Supermasculine Menial, the literal seeds of his own destruction--the mindless body which can, as he fearfully sees it, perform indefatigably those basic human acts which he, as bodiless mind, has largely lost the capacity for. Hence the onset of paranoia. He must now, through rationalization and sublimation, devise the myths which either diminish his need for racial competition in sexual performance or diminish the Supermasculine Menial's capacity for, or access to, sexual performance--at least with white women. Ironically, the white male's persistent diatribes about the threat of the black male to the white woman appears historically to have provided in the mind of the white woman at least as much fascination as fear. In *Blues for Mister Charlie*, James Baldwin recreates the principal myth in American race-sex relations when the character Ellis admonishes several white women about the dangers of black men:

> "Ellis: Mrs. Britten, you're married and all the women in this room are married and I know you've seen your husband without no clothes on--but have you seen a nigger without no clothes on? No, I guess you haven't. Well, he ain't like a white man, Mrs. Britten.
> George: That's right.
> Ellis: Mrs. Britten, if you was to be raped by
> the jungle or a stallion, couldn't do you no wo
> wouldn't be no good for nobody. I've *seen* it.
> George: That's *right*.
> Ralph: That's why we men have got to be so vig
> have to be away a lot of nights, you know--and I
> I taught her how to use it, too."[7]

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George: That's *right*.

Ralph: That's why we men have got to be so vigilant. I tell you, I have to be away a lot of nights, you know--and I bought Susan a gun and I taught her how to use it, too."[7]

Implicit in Ralph's declaration, of course, is the assumption that Susan joins him in the desire that the gun be used on any black man with sexual designs--an assumption that history has demonstrated to be usually questionable and frequently false. Indeed, Beth Day says, "The sexual myth has backfired badly in all ways. The white man invented it to frighten white women away from black men. But when he fears that it may, indeed, be true, he becomes neurotically concerned with his own sexual performance."[8] At this point it becomes necessary for the Omnipotent Administrator, or the white male, to inforce the psychological barrier against black male/white female sexual intimacy reflected by Baldwin's characters with a variety of legal and extra-legal barriers. It is interesting to note that most of the legal barriers--virtually all of which were formulated, legislated, and enforced by white males--have been aimed at preventing interracial sexual and/or marital activity from being initiated by either blacks or whites--a fact which, in part, confirms the theory that white men have historically been conscious that the black sexual "threat" myths, which they have been almost solely responsible for establishing, may, in fact, have caused as much titilation in white women as terror.

On June 12, 1967, the U. S. Supreme Court, in the case *Loving v. Virginia*, voided Virginia's 1691 law prohibiting interracial marriage ("abominable mixture and spurious issue")[9] and thereby simultaneously voided similar laws in sixteen other states as well.[10] This legal stroke finally eliminated the remnants of the volatile patchwork of white-male-designed laws against interracial sex and marriage, the first of which was legislated in Maryland in 1661.[11] The following year Virginia enacted a law prescribing a heavy fine for "any christian [who] shall committ fornication with a negro man or woman."[12] And for the next three hundred years, in many sections of the United States--thirty-one states in all--a complicated, and often contradictory, network of laws was designed to accomplish the widespread, and largely white-male, admonition about blacks expressed by Thomas Jefferson in *Notes on Virginia*: "When freed, he [all blacks] is to be removed beyond the reach of mixture."[13]

The price of interracial sexuality, in short, was very high. Beth Day says: "The state miscegenation laws were aimed primarily at preventing black men from marrying white women. . . . The fines ranged from $50 (Colorado) to $5,000 (Kentucky), and penalties of imprisonment from one month (Arkansas) to ten years (Mississippi, Indiana, Florida, and South Dakota)." She notes, incidentally, the legal difficulty of determining what exactly constitutes being "black":

> "A glance through the wording of the individual states' statutes shows a certain confusion among the white lawmakers about precisely what the definition of *Negro* was. The prohibition of marriage of a white to a black ranged from West Virginia's straightforward edict against a known
> 'Negro' to 'any person of African descent,' any
> descent 'back to the third generation,' or any
> fourth' or 'one-eighth' Negro. Louisiana slice
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'Negro' to 'any person of African descent,' any person of African descent 'back to the third generation,' or anyone known to be 'one-fourth' or 'one-eighth' Negro. Louisiana sliced it rather fine by judging a person black who was known to have 'one-sixteenth' Negro ancestry. As to how the upholders of the law were supposed to make such a judgment, short of the accused's own testimony or that of his mother, the laws provided no guidelines."[14]

This matter of defining what is "black," incidentally, has appeared in both serious and humorous literature in the United States, and it is pointed out, rather amusingly, in the dedication to George S. Schuyler's satiric novel, Black No More: "This book is dedicated to all Caucasians in the great republic who can trace their ancestry back ten generations and confidently assert that there are no Black leaves, twigs, limbs or branches on their family trees."[15]

In addition to the white-male-designed sexual myths and the white-male-legislated sexual laws, the white American male has devised a plethora of "extra-legal barriers" for the prevention of interracial sexual activity of the black male/white female kind. Perhaps recognizing that his myths have caused considerable fascination about black male sexuality and that certainly one of his fundamental impulses in creating a strong anti-miscegenation legal network (and there were always many more laws barring interracial marriage than merely interracial sexual activity) was the unspoken fear that white women were not to be trusted in matters of interracial relationships (after all, marriage is nearly always a voluntary relationship), the white man set out physically to eliminate the possibility of "violation of his white woman." This, at least, seems the most convincing explanation for the otherwise rather unaccountable fact that, especially in the American South, sexual mutilation so frequently accompanied the lynching of black men. Now, among other things, the hanging, burning, and mutilating of human beings, while it satisfied a white-male sexual insecurity so deep as to be properly termed paranoiac, required a rationale so cogent as to convince literally millions of individuals of their justification--and that rationale was what Laurence A. Baughman calls the "Southern Rape Complex."

In his book of the same title, Baughman explains that the rape of a white woman by a black man was extremely rare prior to Reconstruction, and was not substantially more common even after that stormy period. The fact of rape, however, as Baughman points out, had virtually nothing to do with the *allegation* of rape--an allegation, not surprisingly, made far more often by white men who assumed the frequency of such activity than by white women who presumably would have been its victims. With the rape-rationale (or, as was far more often the case, the *attempted*-rape-rationale) established, however, bands of white males, under a variety of Christian, patriotic, and masculine guises--and motivated by the same nightmares, as well as daydreams, highlighted by perpetual close-up visions of black and white genitals in union--set out to reassert their own sexuality by literally denying black men theirs.

This paranoiac impulse explains why thousands of black men, especially in the South, have been "lynched," why "lynching" is one of the most common subjects treated by black (and, to a considerably

lesser extent, white) southern writers and, ver
sexual mutilation has been in evidence in such
in both historical and literary accounts. (As
in his novel, *The Garies and Their Friends*, 185
the northern penalty for "amalgamation" was, in
quently simply mob shooting or beating.) Far m
simply describing the inhuman details of the ly
Richard Wright does it brilliantly in what is p
ary work, a poem titled "Between the World and
have attempted to explain the far-reaching cult
Claude McKay, for example, in his short poem ti
says:

> "His Spirit in smoke ascended to high heaven.
> His father, by the cruelest way of pain,
> Had bidden him to his bosom once again;
> The awful sin remained still unforgiven.
> All night a bright and solitary star
> (Perchance the one that ever guided him,
> Yet gave him up at last to Fate's wild whim)
> Hung pitifully o'er the swinging char.
> Day dawned, and soon the mixed crowds came to vi
> The ghastly body swaying in the sun.
> The women thronged to look, but never a one
> Showed sorrow in her eyes of steely blue.
> And little lads, lynchers that were to be,
> Danced round the dreadful thing in fiendish glee

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lesser extent, white) southern writers and, very importantly, why sexual mutilation has been in evidence in such a large number of cases, in both historical and literary accounts. (As Frank J. Webb explains in his novel, The Garies and Their Friends, 1857, set in Philadelphia, the northern penalty for "amalgamation" was, instead of lynching, frequently simply mob shooting or beating.) Far more important than simply describing the inhuman details of the lynch scene--though Richard Wright does it brilliantly in what is probably his finest literary work, a poem titled "Between the World and Me"--a number of writers have attempted to explain the far-reaching cultural impact of lynching. Claude McKay, for example, in his short poem titled "The Lynching" says:

"His Spirit in smoke ascended to high heaven.
His father, by the cruelest way of pain,
Had bidden him to his bosom once again;
The awful sin remained still unforgiven.
All night a bright and solitary star
(Perchance the one that ever guided him,
Yet gave him up at last to Fate's wild whim)
Hung pitifully o'er the swinging char.
Day dawned, and soon the mixed crowds came to view
The ghastly body swaying in the sun.
The women thronged to look, but never a one
Showed sorrow in her eyes of steely blue.
And little lads, lynchers that were to be,
Danced round the dreadful thing in fiendish glee."[16]

Here McKay makes clear that far more is at stake than the destroyed human life; for what is being perpetuated by this southern folk ritual is the systematic dehumanization of each coming generation, as the "little lads, lynchers that were to be" are taught by their society that it is appropriate to dance "round the dreadful thing in fiendish glee." Their perception of their world is perverted virtually from infancy. The most poignant illustration of what these "little lads" are to become is a character in James Baldwin's short story, "Going to Meet the Man." Jesse is a middle-age southern deputy sheriff whose sexuality was shaped at age eight when he was taken to his first lynching. Here, as he, his parents, and most of his community breathlessly watch the slow and calculated torture and mutilation of a human being; and as Jesse observes that his mother's "eyes were very bright, her mouth was open: she was more beautiful than he had ever seen her, and more strange"; and, sitting atop his father's shoulders, as he feels "his father's hands on his ankles slip and tighten" as the torture progresses; and as Jesse feels "a joy he had never felt before"; and, following the inevitable castration, as his "head, of its own weight, [falls] downward toward his father's head"[17]--as all of this occurs, Jesse, a victim of his own culture as surely as, though less painfully than, the man lynched, becomes a "man," that is, his sexual nature is tragically formed in such a way that he can never experience sexual fulfillment without fantasies of the racial-sexual torture.

Many other bizarre forms of racially inspired sexual development in white men are recorded in the writing of such authors as William Melvin Kelley and Eldridge Cleaver. In his novel *Dem*, Kelley treats the rather unlikely subject of "superfecundation"-
a woman with spermatozoa from two men within a sh
causing twins, each the product of a different fa
Kelley's Mrs. Pierce, one of the fathers is Mr. P
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the rather unlikely subject of "superfecundation"--the impregnation of a woman with spermatozoa from two men within a short period of time, causing twins, each the product of a different father. In the case of Kelley's Mrs. Pierce, one of the fathers is Mr. Pierce, the other is Mrs. Pierce's black lover--hence, when born, one of the twins is black, and one is white. Mr. Pierce, having found himself constantly outmaneuvered by the power of black sexuality, reverts to fetal security at the close of the novel as he "sank down deep into the hot water, and, on his side, his eyes closed and his hands clamped between his thighs, he filled the darkness with fantasies."[18] In "The Allegory of the Black Eunuchs," Cleaver has "the Infidel" describe another manifestation of white male sexuality--in which the white man, though as Omnipotent Administrator no longer capable of being the fulfilling sexual *performer* for his female, can at least be the *provider* of her sexual ecstasy:

"There is a sickness in the whites that lies at the core of their madness and this sickness makes them act in many different ways. But there is one way it makes some of them act that seems to contradict everything we know about whitey and shakes many blacks up when they first encounter it. . . . There are white men who will pay you to fuck their wives. . . . There is a certain type who will leave you and his wife alone and tell you to pile her real good. . . . Then there are some who like to peep at you through a keyhole and watch you have his woman. . . ."[19]

Interestingly, in such an arrangement the white male continues to maintain his Omnipotent Administrator position--that is, oddly enough, he is still the manager of the sexual activity. It is, in short, a power structure still controlled by the white male, just as the mythical, legal, and extra-legal sexual restraints have been controlled by white men. Indeed critic Leslie Fiedler, in discussing primarily the South, says that there is "no absolute distinction of black and white, merely an imaginary line--crossed and recrossed by the white man's lust. . . ."[20]

The second major question about race and sexuality in America, "What lies at the base of the attraction/repulsion sexual impulses of white women toward black men?" has been partly answered in the discussion about the origins and manifestations of white-male paranoia on the matter of black male/white female sexual relations--the insecurity which has bred the myths, laws, and vigilante repression so widely documented in American writing. The white female responses to the idea of interracial sexual intimacy, as reflected in American literature at least, have predictably been ambivalent ones, and the attraction/repulsion designation provides a fair though general summary of these attitudes. Interestingly, even in the writing of mid-nineteenth-century white female authors of a clearly racist persuasion, such as Caroline Lee Hentz and Mrs. Henry R. Schoolcraft, there appears a penchant for lingering over the physical details of black men. In her novel, The Planter's Northern Bride (1854), Mrs. Hentz, a self-styled authority on black Americans, explains:

> "You think, perhaps, it must be a curse to work under the burning sun of our sultry clime. It would be for me; it would be for the white man; but the negro, native of a tropic zone, and constitutionally adapted to its heat, luxuriates in the beams which would p
> have studied him physiologically as well as men
> find some remarkable characteristics, perhaps u
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> its heat, luxuriates in the beams which would parch us with fever. I have studied him physiologically as well as mentally and morally, and I find some remarkable characteristics, perhaps unknown to you. . . . his skin, upon minute examination, is very different from ours, in other respects as well as colour. It secretes a far greater quantity of moisture, which, like dew, throws back the heat absorbed by us. I could mention many more pecularities which prove his adaptedness to the situation he occupies, but I fear I weary you, Eulalia."[21]

To which Eulalia, as enthralled in the subject as her narrator, cries, "Oh, no!" Though substantially more vicious in her racism than Mrs. Hentz, Mrs. Henry Schoolcraft, especially in her novel, *The Black Gauntlet; A Tale of Plantation Life in South Carolina* (1852-1860), also betrays on occasion a suspiciously "unladylike" interest in black physiology.

In twentieth century literature, the attraction/repulsion impulse of white women toward black men has been quite openly explored. Returning to Cleaver's archetype, briefly, we find an explanation for both the repulsion and the attraction. The repulsion, quite simply, is the culturally inspired disdain for close association with the alleged inferior that is usually experienced by the allegedly superior class. The attraction, on the other hand, is somewhat more complicated in its origin and its manifestations. Cleaver explains that the Ultra-feminine [the white woman], in the continual process of protecting the "masculinity" of the Omnipotent Administrator by greater and greater effeminizing of herself, becomes a "psychic celibate"--that is, a woman who, in sexual union with the Omnipotent Administrator, cannot coordinate the impulses of both the mind and the body to achieve complete gratification. Though her class position has largely desexed this woman, it has not eliminated the need for sexual fulfillment; it has simply substantially reduced her access to that fulfillment--hence perpetual frustration. At this point her fantasies fix on the individual who, she imagines, can relieve her frustration, as the Omnipotent Administrator cannot, and who can, at the same time, restore her sense of sexual self-esteem, as the Omnipotent Administrator dare not, lest he add to his already present burden of sexual insecurity and suspicion. Of the Ultra-feminine's attraction impulses, Cleaver says:

> "Though she may never have had a sexual encounter with a Super-masculine Menial, she is fully convinced that he can fulfill her physical need. . . . But what wets the Ultra-feminine's juice is that she is allured and tortured by the secret, intuitive knowledge that he, her psychic bridegroom, can blaze through the wall of her ice, plumb her psychic depths . . . detonate the bomb of her orgasm, and bring her sweet release."[22]

A number of American authors--interestingly, mostly male authors--have treated this "sweet release" of the white female which is alleged to be possible through union with black males. In his autobiographical Letters to a Black Boy (1969), Robert Teague explores the pent-up fantasies that some white women bring to an interracial sexual encounter. Teague describes an "interracial party" that he attended in Milwaukee shortly after he finished college at which he met a young white socialite whom he calls Paula Hotchkiss. He continues:

> "And later--after some furtive necking in the kitc
> alone together in a guest bedroom upstairs. . . .
> stepped out of her underthings, Paula threw her ar
> Her voice was intimate, warm and husky in my ear.
> go easy with me,' she whispered. 'I understand ab
> make Negro men so much better--the way you tear in
> animal.'
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> Well. Another one of those. As a matter of
> a little unsure of myself at that moment, and my e
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> Her tongue darted into my ear. Then she bit
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>
> As it turned out, all I had to do was penetra
> hair. Almost immediately, her body stiffened; she
> her fingernails, moaned and quivered violently. I
> as I was getting started. Her vivid imagination h
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"And later--after some furtive necking in the kitchen--we wound up alone together in a guest bedroom upstairs. . . . As soon as she stepped out of her underthings, Paula threw her arms around my neck. Her voice was intimate, warm and husky in my ear. 'You don't have to go easy with me,' she whispered. 'I understand about the things that make Negro men so much better--the way you tear into a woman like an animal.'

Well. Another one of those. As a matter of fact, I was feeling a little unsure of myself at that moment, and my experience in the boudoir at that stage of my life was not impressively extensive. . . .

Her tongue darted into my ear. Then she bit the lobe. 'Let's pretend,' she said, 'that this is a rape.'

As it turned out, all I had to do was penetrate Paula's pubic hair. Almost immediately, her body stiffened; she clawed my back with her fingernails, moaned and quivered violently. It was all over just as I was getting started. Her vivid imagination had been much more potent than any expertise at my command."[23]

An added dimension of white female attraction to black male sexuality which is not revealed in the motivation of Teague's "Paula Hotchkiss"--though it certainly may have been present--is self-punishment. In fact, one may cogently theorize that one of the chief reasons for the attraction/repulsion ambivalence in white women lies in the desire for "sweet release" described by Cleaver coupled with--and, because of the "naughtiness factor," intensified by--the Puritan-Victorian sense of sex guilt, which, at least until rather recently, appears to have been commonplace in American women. Such a woman, then, may have the best of both pleasure and pain. The pleasure results from the physical-psychic fulfillment which Cleaver describes, together with the sense of perverse joy which often accompanies performance of some act culturally identified as "evil," and together further, at least on occasions, with the satisfaction of "revenge" for wrongs, or imagined wrongs, perpetrated by her white husband or lover. The pain, or guilt, on the other hand, can result from a personal sense of unworthiness, which can be inspired by innumerable past acts or impulses, reinforced by both the guilt about her sexual appetite itself and the further guilt of having that appetite sated by an individual that her culture has dictated to be inferior to her.

In the heroine of his novel, Pretty Leslie (1963), R. V. Cassill well portrays the plethora of pleasure-pain impulses just described. The frustrated and guilt-ridden doctor's wife, Leslie, has carefully chosen for her lover a white man named Don Patch, who seduced, belittles, and physically punishes her hour after hour:

> "He heard the woman groan in misery and fulfillment. . . . Now her guilts begged with her hungers, like novices soliciting beside the tanks with the whores. Punishment and lust were simultaneous. There was no longer any limit, within or without, which could enforce an end to the looting or betrayal.
>
> So his refusal to stop became her leisure to enjoy--enjoy not merely the stretch and impact of their bodies, so terribly exposed, but also, in recollection, the cunning expedients of the day by which she had singled (chosen? Yes, chosen) this man from the crowd at Bieman's farm. . . . With a sure instinct of choice, had she not goaded
> him on to follow her even when the light part o
> was trying to squelch him?
>
> [. . . Was she not now served as she loved
> disguised as black? Nigger, she gloated silent
> the sweat of his back.]"[24]

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Leslie, then, in the climactic throes of masochistic abandon, seeks her ultimate pleasure [and guilt] by mentally transforming her indefatigable lover into a black man. An interesting variation of this racial-transformation fantasy is found, incidentally, in Baldwin's short story "Going to Meet the Man," in which Jesse, the middle-age white man described earlier as he came to perverted sexual maturity while watching a lynching, finds that to achieve sexual fulfillment he must, in addition to creating fantasies about mutilation, mentally transform himself into a black man. Then, in a powerful admission about the nature of his own sexual needs, as well as those of his white wife, "he thought of the morning and grabbed her, laughing and crying, crying and laughing, and he whispered, as he stroked her, as he took her, 'Come on, sugar, I'm going to do you like a nigger, just like a nigger, come on, sugar, and love me just like you'd love a nigger.'"[25]

There have been numerous recent attempts to write "revisionist" historical literature in which highly contemporary interpretations of sexual behavior have been imposed upon characters and settings of one or two centuries ago. One of the most striking illustrations of this "contemporized" writing is Clifford Mason's play Gabriel (1968), which, like the historical event on which it is based, is set in 1800 on the Virginia plantation of Charles Prosser.[26] To the rather elaborate plans of insurrection laid by the slave Gabriel and his followers, however, Mason has injected the element of sado-masochistic sexuality between Gabriel and his master's wife, Lucy Prosser. The rather unconvincing first exchange between Gabriel and Lucy reveal Mason's purpose--to portray Gabriel as a disinterested sexual superman and Lucy as a panting Victorian nymphomaniac:

> "Lucy: . . . You've got to come tonight. Please, say you'll really come.
>
> Gabriel [moves away]: When I think of the days I've spent pleasing massah and the nights I've spent pleasing you and all the beatings I've taken from the foreman in between. . . .
>
> Lucy: And you'll come early, please.
>
> Gabriel: Just don't touch me; I'll come early and stay late if you just don't touch me.
>
> Lucy: I won't.
>
> Gabriel: I'm sick to death of you. I can't even stand the smell of you. So don't touch me. Even when you're getting undressed don't touch me. I don't want to see your face until it's too black out for it to make a difference what you look like.
>
> Lucy: Yes. But I remember when you used to go on and on because you enjoyed it so. I remember when you kissed me until my body was bruised from kisses. I remember when I had to beg you to stop because the pleasure turned to pain. [She tries to touch him again.]"[27]

The motivation for the disdain felt by black males such as Gabriel for white women is central to any attempt to answer the third race-sexuality question, "What lies at the base of the attraction/retribution

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> "If Sophie was completely indifferent to the life
> her, not so Drummage. All his pride, all his van
> thought of fathering a child by Sophie. What if
> himself to the necessary performance, or if his f
> Sophie was still a white woman and the daughter o
> still the head of Falconhurst, a member of that w
> hoped to enter--a white world which had been as f
> own as earth from heaven. He was only Drummage,
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sexual impulses of black men toward white women?" The attraction is not difficult to understand. It is, in fact, the other side of the sexual coin from the "repulsion" aspect of white female response to black male sexuality--both impulses are the logical product of a culture which for three and a half centuries has unequivocally equated whiteness with superiority and blackness with inferiority. And so, understandably enough, just as a part of many white female impulses toward black men is based upon the awareness of "debasement," so at least a part of many black male impulses toward white women is based upon an awareness of "elevation." This black male attitude is articulated by the character Drummage in Kyle Onstott's novel Master of Falconhurst (1964) [one of the "Mandingo" series], who, during Reconstruction on an Alabama plantation, describes his feelings about the child--his child--which Sophie, the late master's daughter, is carrying:

> "If Sophie was completely indifferent to the life burgeoning within her, not so Drummage. All his pride, all his vanity was aroused by the thought of fathering a child by Sophie. What if he had had to force himself to the necessary performance, or if his favors had been bought? Sophie was still a white woman and the daughter of Hammond Maxwell, still the head of Falconhurst, a member of that world he had never hoped to enter--a white world which had been as far removed from his own as earth from heaven. He was only Drummage, but she was Sophie Maxwell, with the blood of Maxwells and Hammonds in her veins!"[28]

While Kyle Onstott is a white novelist,[29] similar attitudes have been expressed by black social theorists and authors. In one of the most useful sociological works on the whole subject, Sex and Racism in America (1965), Calvin C. Hernton explains his own culturally inspired awareness of, and fascination for, white women:

> "To every Negro boy who grows up in the South, the light-skinned Negro woman--the 'high yellow,' the mulatto--incites awe. The white woman incites more awe. As a boy I was, to say the least, confused. As I grew older, the desire to see what it was that made white women so dear and angelic became a secret, grotesque burden to my psyche. It is that to almost all Negro men, no matter how successfully they hide and deny it. And for these reasons--the absurd idolization of the white woman and the equal absurdity of the taboo surrounding her--there arises within almost all Negroes a sociosexually induced predisposition for white women."[30]

Likewise in the "Allegory of the Black Eunuchs" section of Soul on Ice, Cleaver records the nearly fanatical, and presently somewhat dated, pronouncements of "the Accused" on his attraction to white women:

> "Ain't no such thing as an ugly white woman. A white woman is beautiful even if she's baldheaded and only has one tooth. . . . It's not just the fact that she's a woman that I love; I love her skin, her soft, smooth, white skin. I like to just lick her white skin as if sweet, fresh honey flows from her pores, and just to touch her long, soft, silkey hair. There's a softness about a white woman, something delicate and soft inside her. . . . Ain't nothing more beautiful than a white woman's hair being blown by the wind. The white woman is more than a woman to me. . . . She's like a goddess, a symbol. My love for
> her is religious and beyond fulfillment. I wor
> white woman's dirty drawers."[31]

The "retribution" aspect of the ambivalent
retribution impulse toward white women seems so
than the well-documented "attraction" aspect.
way to approach this impulse to punish is to ex
exploitation in the historical victor-conquered
Women in White America (1972), the editor, Gerd
practice of raping the women of a defeated enemy
found in every culture. . . . It is the ultimat
for a defeated foe since it symbolizes his help
any other conceivable act."[32]

Certainly the history and literature treat
defeated nation by victorious military forces a
tions of the sexual abuse heaped upon the conqu
useful to bring that military analogy to bear o
between black males and white females in a cult
as well as outright hostility, has historically
racial attitudes. Accepting Lerner's premise th
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and voluntary interracial sexual encounters. La
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n C. Hernton explains his own culturally inspired
cination for, white women:

ho grows up in the South, the light-skinned Negro
w,' the mulatto--incites awe. The white woman
a boy I was, to say the least, confused. As I
to see what it was that made white women so dear
secret, grotesque burden to my psyche. It is that
en, no matter how successfully they hide and deny
asons--the absurd idolization of the white woman
ty of the taboo surrounding her--there arises
roes a sociosexually induced predisposition for

'Allegory of the Black Eunuchs" section of *Soul on*
the nearly fanatical, and presently somewhat
of "the Accused" on his attraction to white

s an ugly white woman. A white woman is
's baldheaded and only has one tooth. . . . It's
she's a woman that I love; I love her skin, her
kin. I like to just lick her white skin as if
ws from her pores, and just to touch her long,
ere's a softness about a white woman, something
de her. . . . Ain't nothing more beautiful than
eing blown by the wind. The white woman is more
. . She's like a goddess, a symbol. My love for

her is religious and beyond fulfillment. I worship her. I love a white woman's dirty drawers."[31]

The "retribution" aspect of the ambivalent black male attraction/retribution impulse toward white women seems somewhat more complicated than the well-documented "attraction" aspect. Probably the most useful way to approach this impulse to punish is to explore the use of sexual exploitation in the historical victor-conquered relationship. In *Black Women in White America* (1972), the editor, Gerda Lerner, says: "The practice of raping the women of a defeated enemy is world-wide and is found in every culture. . . . It is the ultimate expression of contempt for a defeated foe since it symbolizes his helplessness more fully than any other conceivable act."[32]

Certainly the history and literature treating the occupation of a defeated nation by victorious military forces are alive with descriptions of the sexual abuse heaped upon the conquered women. It seems useful to bring that military analogy to bear on sexual activities between black males and white females in a culture in which antagonism, as well as outright hostility, has historically characterized cross-racial attitudes. Accepting Lerner's premise that sexual abuse "is the ultimate expression of contempt for a defeated foe," one can quickly understand the possibilities for cultural revenge in both involuntary and voluntary interracial sexual encounters. Laurence Baughman says: "There was a time when the rape of a white woman by a Negro was almost unknown throughout the South. During the entire period of Negro slavery, it did not, for all practical purposes, exist. Nor did it exist to any great extent until some years after the Emancipation. But what cases there were were particularly brutal."[33]

The question naturally arises as to how exactly either the involuntary or the voluntary sexual activity between a black male and a white female can constitute cultural "retribution." The answer to the question cannot emerge until there is an understanding about the nature of the relationship between the American white woman (particularly, but by no means exclusively, the southern white woman) and American cultural values (again, particularly southern values). This relationship has been explored in at least two significant ways. On one hand, W. J. Cash asserts that "in the settling dust of the Civil War, any attempt on the part of the Negro to iterate his new equality was not just a simple aggression against Southern ideology but was an attack on Southern womanhood, as surely as if she were indeed physically violated."[34] Richard Christy, on the other hand, reverses the causal order of the relationship by claiming, more convincingly, it seems, that

> "the Southern white woman was a symbol of Southern ideology, not vice versa. She meant less than nothing without the ideal of the South. When a Southerner was chivalrous to his woman he was paying homage to the South. The woman meant no more to his ideal than a rosary to a diocese. The violence of the Southern mind was greater not when a Southern ideal was attacked and he associated it with his woman but, rather, when his woman was attacked and he subconsciously related it to his ideals."[35]

Regardless, however, of the actual first cause of this chicken-and-egg relationship, the fact remains that white American women (again, particularly southern women), and th
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women (again, particularly southern women), and the sanctity of their sexuality, are inextricably associated with American (particularly southern) values, and, therefore, any assault on white female sexuality (even a voluntary "assault") has become, for many black males, simultaneously an assault on the "ideals" which America holds most dear. And, unlike the black-revolution literature of authors like Arna Bontemps (*Black Thunder*, 1936), Imamu Baraka (*The Slave*, 1964), William Styron (*The Confessions of Nat Turner*, 1966), Sam Greenlee (*The Spook Who Sat by the Door*, 1969), and John A. Williams (*Sons of Darkness, Sons of Light*, 1969), in which open go-for-broke military attacks are made by blacks upon the actual physical institutions of America, the sexual assault allows, in addition to the gratification of experiencing culturally "forbidden fruit," the relative security of acts of covert retribution which may be repeated many times.

An interesting corollary of the white female-cultural values equation emerges in any attempt to answer the final race-sexuality question posed early in this article: "What are the fundamental differences between the sexual impulses operating in the black man/white woman relationship and those operating in the black woman/white man relationship?" Interestingly, in the first black novel written, *Clotel; or, The President's Daughter* (1853)--a novel based upon the legend of Thomas Jefferson's quadroon daughters--William Wells Brown, in describing a slave auction at which Clotel (Jefferson's daughter) is being sold, reveals that Clotel's value is enhanced in direct proportion as she reflects such fundamentally American values as light skin, a gentle temper, Christianity, and chastity:

"Clotel had been reserved for the last, because she was the most valuable. 'How much gentlemen? Real Albino, fit for a fancy girl for any one. She enjoys good health, and has a sweet temper. How much do you say?' 'Five hundred dollars.' 'Only five hundred for such a girl as this? Gentlemen, she is worth a deal more than that sum; you certainly don't know the value of the article you are bidding upon. Here, gentlemen, I hold in my hand a paper certifying that she has a good moral character.' 'Seven hundred.' 'Ah, gentlemen, that is something like. This paper also states that she is very intelligent.' 'Eight hundred.' 'She is a devoted Christian, and perfectly trustworthy.' 'Nine hundred.' 'Nine fifty.' 'Ten.' 'Eleven.' 'Twelve hundred.' Here the sale came to a dead stand. . . . 'The chastity of this girl is pure; she has never been from under her mother's care; she is a virtuous creature.' 'Thirteen.' 'Fourteen.' 'Fifteen.' 'Fifteen hundred dollars,' cried the auctioneer, and the maiden was struck for that sum. This was a Southern auction, at which the bones, muscles, sinews, blood, and nerves of a young lady of sixteen were sold for five hundred dollars; her moral character for two hundred; her improved intellect for one hundred; her Christianity for three hundred; and her chastity and virtue for four hundred dollars more."[36]

The more common portrayal of black women in American literature, however, is one which emphasizes their difference from white women, rather than their similarity. Again, of course, the white superiority-black inferiority attitudes are operating, with the effects nowhere better articulated than in the book by psychiatrists William H. Grier and Price M. Cobbs titled Black Rage (1968). Among the many case

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studies outlined in the book is that of a black woman named Bertha, who sums up her perception of the sexual role assigned her by American history: "I know I am a whore at heart--society confirms it. . . . I know I am suitable only for casual sexual use--society confirms it."[37] Bertha here reveals the devastating residue of a cultural conditioning process like slavery, and later institutional discrimination, upon the female psyche. In their chapter titled "Achieving Womanhood," Grier and Cobbs state: "In the world of women an abundance of feminine narcissism is not only a cheerful attribute but a vital necessity to emotional well-being."[38] But it is exactly this characteristic which Bertha has been denied.

The hundreds of thousands of Berthas have been created largely as the result of a conspiracy among white males--and with at least the tacit approval of white females. To make her compatible with the social niche which was to be her lot, Bertha had early to be stripped of that sense of feminine self-esteem which Grier and Cobbs describe as essential to sound emotional adjustment. She became for the slave master, as well as for his "cracker" neighbor, the "animal-like" source of the sexual gratification which he could not achieve (or which he dared not request, at least not too often) with his white wife. (In "Going to Meet the Man," Jesse, unable to perform sexually with his wife, thinks: "He could not ask her to do just a little thing for him, just to help him out, just for a little while, the way he could ask a nigger girl to do it."[39]) Black females became, then, the objects through which white male sexual fantasies could be acted out. The master's and cracker's twentieth-century counterparts are, in addition to southern white men of all classes, urban landlords, employers, and an almost endless variety of others whose superior social and economic position makes many black women, like Lutie Johnson in Ann Petry's The Street (1946) automatically vulnerable.

The most fundamental difference, then, between the historical and literary treatment of the black man/white woman relationship and that of the black woman/white man relationship is that the first has always been considered taboo (at the present time even more in the black community than in the white), while the second has been covertly tolerated. The qualifications imposed upon that toleration, however, are revealing. In viewing the black woman/white man relationship from the white woman's perspective, Beth Day, not altogether accurately, says: "It forces her to live a lie in regard to her own position in life and her relationship to her husband. For him, black sex is always available, regardless of her feelings. For her, the door of sexual choice is closed."[40] This sexual double-standard problem, intensified by the racial factor, is treated by Baldwin in Blues for Mister Charlie, in which the murder Lyle Britten, his wife Jo, and his friend Parnell discuss what, for Lyle and Parnell at least, is the obvious difference in the two kinds of relationships:

> "Jo: It's not different--how can you say that? White men ain't got no more business fooling around with black women than--
>
> Lyle: Girl, will you stop getting yourself into an uproar? Men is different from women--they ain't as delicate. Man can do a lot of things a woman can't do, you know that.

> Parnell: You've heard the expression, sowing w
> men we know sowed a lot of wild oats before the
> and got married.
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> Lyle: That's right. Men have to do it. They

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Parnell: You've heard the expression, sowing wild oats? Well, all the men we know sowed a lot of wild oats before they finally settled down and got married.

Lyle: That's right. Men have to do it. They ain't like women."[41]

And here is the crux of the entire race-and-sexuality issue in America--the glib and simple vision of a nation of Lyle Brittens about what they perceive as the obvious differences in kind among human beings and human needs. Black men simply "ain't like" white men. Black women "ain't like" white women. Men "ain't like" women. And, most central to the race-sexuality issue, black people "ain't like" white people. With such a simplistic and inhu[illegible]de serving as the only boundaries for the behavior, prejudices, and laws of the nation's Lyle Brittens--attitudes and actions shaped by the myths of white sophistication and superiority and black animalism and inferiority--there is little reason to marvel at the legion illustrations of racial debasement and bitterness recorded so tragically in the literature of America.

FOOTNOTES

1. This essay is included in the Seymour Gross and John E. Hardy collection, Images of the Negro in American Literature (Chicago, 1966).
2. Ibid., pp. 29-30.
3. Ibid., p. 39.
4. Claude McKay, A Long Way From Home (New York, 1970), p. 88.
5. Eldridge Cleaver, Soul on Ice (New York, 1969), pp. 178-9.
6. Ibid., p. 181.
7. James Baldwin, Blues for Mister Charlie (New York, 1964), p. 71.
8. Beth Day, Sexual Life Between Blacks and Whites (New York, 1972), pp. 7-8.
9. Robert J. Sickels, Race, Marriage, and the Law (Albuquerque, 1972), p. 64.
10. According to Robert Sickels, those sixteen remaining states were Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and West Virginia.
11. Sickels, Race, p. 64.
12. Gross and Hardy, Images, p. 42 (footnote).
13. Ibid., p. 43.
14. Day, Sexual Life, p. 99.
15. On p. 19 of Sexual Life Between Blacks and Whites, Beth Day notes: "Between seventy and eighty percent of all so-called black Americans have white ancestors. An est so-called white Americans have black an
16. Claude McKay, Selected Poems (New York,
17. James Baldwin, Going to Meet the Man (N
18. William Melvin Kelley, Dem (New York, 1
19. Cleaver, Soul on Ice, p. 170.
20. Gross and Hardy, Images, p. 94.
21. Caroline Lee Hentz, The Planter's North 1970), pp. 303-4.
22. Cleaver, Soul on Ice, pp. 185-6. In ad psychiatrist Dr. Frances Welsing, in a television confrontation ("Black Journa Shockley, advanced the theory, based up well as those of other psychiatrists, t white women wish for darker skin pigmen ber of hours spent sunbathing and apply Welsing noted further her conclusion th caucasian women have a deep-seated desi color."
23. Robert Teague, Letters to a Black Boy (
24. R. V. Cassill, Pretty Leslie (New York,
25. Baldwin, Going to Meet the Man, p. 218.
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27. Woodie King and Ron Milner, Black Drama 1971), p. 176.

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Americans have white ancestors. An estimated twenty percent of so-called white Americans have black ancestry."

16. Claude McKay, *Selected Poems* (New York, 1953), p. 37.
17. James Baldwin, *Going to Meet the Man* (New York, 1966).
18. William Melvin Kelley, *Dem* (New York, 1969), p. 141.
19. Cleaver, *Soul on Ice*, p. 170.
20. Gross and Hardy, *Images*, p. 94.
21. Caroline Lee Hentz, *The Planter's Northern Bride* (Chapel Hill, 1970), pp. 303-4.
22. Cleaver, *Soul on Ice*, pp. 185-6. In addition, Howard University psychiatrist Dr. Frances Welsing, in a recent "Genetics-of-race" television confrontation ("Black Journal") with Dr. William Shockley, advanced the theory, based upon her own case studies, as well as those of other psychiatrists, that a significant number of white women wish for darker skin pigmentation, hence the vast number of hours spent sunbathing and applying darkening makeup. Dr. Welsing noted further her conclusion that a large number of caucasian women have a deep-seated desire to conceive a child "of color."
23. Robert Teague, *Letters to a Black Boy* (New York, 1969), pp. 99-100.
24. R. V. Cassill, *Pretty Leslie* (New York, 1964), p. 148.
25. Baldwin, *Going to Meet the Man*, p. 218.
26. A more historically accurate and convincing account of Gabriel is found in Arna Bontemps fine novel, *Black Thunder* (1936).
27. Woodie King and Ron Milner, *Black Drama Anthology* (New York, 1971), p. 176.

28. Kyle Onstott, Master of Falconhurst (Greenwich, Conn., 1964), p. 326.

29. Another popular white novelist, William Styron, treats, 'though lightly, the race-sexuality issue, particularly in the masturbation fantasies of Nat in The Confessions of Nat Turner (1966).

30. Clavin C. Hernton, Sex and Racism in America (New York, 1965), pp. 64-5.

31. Cleaver, Soul on Ice, p. 159.

32. Gerda Lerner, Black Women in White America: A Documentary History (New York, 1972), p. 172.

33. Laurence Alan Baughman, Southern Rape Complex: Hundred Year Psychosis (Atlanta, Ga., 1966), p. 105.

34. Ibid., p. 12.

35. Ibid., p. 13.

36. William Wells Brown, Clotel; or, The President's Daughter (New York, 1970), p. 43.

37. William H. Grier and Price M. Cobbs, Black Rage (New York, 1968), p. 11.

38. Ibid., p. 39.

39. Baldwin, Going to Meet the Man, p. 198.

40. Day, Sexual Life, p. 93.

41. Baldwin, Blues for Mister Charlie, pp. 83-4.

THE HEROINE OF MIXED BLOOD IN NELLA LARSEN'S QUICKSAND

by

W. Bedford Clark
Fellow
Yale University
New Haven, Connecticut

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My old man died in a fine big house.
My ma died in a shack.
I wonder where I'm gonna die,
Being neither white nor black?[1]

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The last stanza of the Langston Hughes poem which bears the richly ambiguous title "Cross" contains a succinct expression of the quandary traditionally confronting the person of mixed blood as he is portrayed throughout much of American literature:

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> My ma died in a shack.
> I wonder where I'm gonna die,
> Being neither white nor black?[1]

The fictionalized mulatto, torn between the racial polarities of a society which divides itself primarily into the mutually exclusive categories of white and black, is a character-type rich with the potential for inner dramatic conflict, and a substantial literary tradition has grown up around his attempts to find himself and his proper place in the larger community from which he is estranged as a result of the genetic "cross" he is forced to bear. In attaching the above quatrain from Hughes to the beginning of her first novel, Quicksand, Nella Larsen immediately signals her reader that she is working within precisely this same tradition, and it is against the backdrop of the "tragic mulatto" tradition that her novel should be understood. But it should also be noted that Quicksand is a psychological novel on the whole, and, as such, its action and interest center around the inner life of the heroine, Helga Crane, to an especially marked degree. What Helga does in a physical sense is largely the expression of what she thinks and feels. Any ultimate assessment of the novel's meaning, then, hinges upon a detailed evaluation of the character of Helga herself, as well as of the way in which she both resembles and differs from the "tragic mulattos" who proceed her in Black fiction.

Hugh Gloster has suggested Rena Walden, the heroine of Charles W. Chesnutt's *The House Behind the Cedars*, as a representative prototype of Helga Crane.[2] But for purposes of contrast, perhaps a better choice would be the title character in Mrs. Frances E. W. Harper's 1893 novel, *Iola Leroy, or Shadows Uplifted*. Iola, like innumerable of her fictional counterparts, is the child of a white planter and a quadroon woman. Her black blood is physically indiscernable, and she is raised as a white girl until, as a consequence of her father's untimely demise, she is sold into slavery. Of particular interest to us here, however, are Iola's actions once she is free to exercise her own will in determining the course of her life. Rescued by the Union army, she contributes to the winning of the war and the liberation of the black race by nursing wounded soldiers with tireless selflessness. Her beauty and devotion attract the attention of a white physician, and gradually command his love. In the best sentimental tradition, love wins out over all obstacles, including the physician's racial biases, and the white lover proposes. A white writer, like George Washington Cable in "Tite Poulette," might well have been content to end his narrative on this happy note. But Mrs. Harper carries the story considerably further. Iola refuses to live as a white man's wife out of a sense of loyalty to the black race. Education, she believes, is the key to racial "uplift," and she accordingly becomes a teacher, rewarded at last for all her sacrifices with marriage to a brilliant mulatto physician who shares her determination to disper ignorance and poverty alluded to in the novel's t

For Mrs. Harper, who in the years prior to t a leading black abolitionist, the role of novelis nate to that of spokeswoman for the grievances an black Americans of her day. Nella Larsen is, on product of another age and literary inheritance. realist with a pronounced penchant for irony, a p minded writer for all the quiet gentility of her fact that accounts for her success in creating ou and melodramatic stereotype of the "tragic mulatt compelling female characters to emerge from the H

As *Quicksand* opens, Helga Crane, the issue o marriage between a white Danish woman and a black the black Southern college, Naxos, a school which stands as a "monument to one man's genius and vis Naxos with a sense of mission worthy of Mrs. Harp dream of black education that Iola pursued has be pictures it, a nightmare in which a respected ins learning is, in reality, a "machine" tolerating " individualisms" and systematically turning out yo ance with the expectations of the white powers-th of Naxos in *Quicksand* points toward the travesty Ralph Ellison's *Invisible Man*, and the reader symp Helga's wish to disassociate herself from the scho siveness of her departure, marked as it is by last

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physician who shares her determination to disperse the "shadows" of ignorance and poverty alluded to in the novel's title.

For Mrs. Harper, who in the years prior to the Civil War had been a leading black abolitionist, the role of novelist is wholly subordinate to that of spokeswoman for the grievances and aspirations of the black Americans of her day. Nella Larsen is, on the other hand, the product of another age and literary inheritance. She is a fictional realist with a pronounced penchant for irony, a particularly tough-minded writer for all the quiet gentility of her style. And it is this fact that accounts for her success in creating out of the overworked and melodramatic stereotype of the "tragic mulatto" one of the most compelling female characters to emerge from the Harlem Renaissance.

As Quicksand opens, Helga Crane, the issue of a short-lived marriage between a white Danish woman and a black man, is a teacher at the black Southern college, Naxos, a school which, like Tuskegee, stands as a "monument to one man's genius and vision."[3] Helga came to Naxos with a sense of mission worthy of Mrs. Harper's Iola. But the dream of black education that Iola pursued has become, as Miss Larsen pictures it, a nightmare in which a respected institution of higher learning is, in reality, a "machine" tolerating "no innovations, no individualisms" and systematically turning out young blacks in accordance with the expectations of the white powers-that-be.[4] The portrait of Naxos in Quicksand points toward the travesty of Tuskegee we see in Ralph Ellison's Invisible Man, and the reader sympathizes fully with Helga's wish to disassociate herself from the school. But the impulsiveness of her departure, marked as it is by last minute wavering, and the apparently inexplicable ambivalence she manifests toward Dr. Anderson, Naxos' chief administrator, are the first positive signs the reader has of Helga's psychological instability, the flaw in her personality that will prove her final downfall. Her vehement determination to leave the South and never return becomes bitterly ironic in view of the novel's conclusion.

Helga arrives in Chicago, paradoxically her home-town (though she feels that she has never had a home), and goes to her white uncle Peter for help, only to be turned away by his new wife during the uncle's absence. In her rage and shame, Helga loses herself in the anonymity of a black crowd and suddenly feels that she has come home at last. This desire to lose herself in identification with her father's people is one of the most powerful, albeit at times unconscious, motives in Helga's behavior, and, in Harlem, living with the pretty and cultivated Anne Grey, she believes that she has finally "found herself."[5] Characteristically, however, Helga's happiness recedes and she begins to suffer again the old sense of "estrangement and isolation."[6] Her initial pleasure in the company of Harlemites changes to "aversion," and she recoils from the sight of "the grinning faces" and from the sound of the "easy laughter" of Harlem blacks. She insists to herself, "They're my own people." Yet she feels "yoked" to them through no choice of her own.[7] *Deus ex machina*, in the form of a letter from her uncle with a sizeable check, provides her with the chance for a new life with her white aunt in Denmark, and Helga determines to take it. Prior to departing, however, she undergoes an experience of a highly symbolic nature.

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Helga and a group of friends go to a Harlem basement nightspot, one of those places which respectable people, she reflects, call a "hell."[8] Miss Larsen's choice of words here is significant, for Helga's descent into the nightclub is suggestive of an archetypal descent into Hades. At first, Helga feels singularly detached from everyone around her until she is overcome by the spell of dance music: "She was drugged, lifted, sustained, by the extraordinary music, blown out, ripped out, beaten out, by the joyous, wild, murky orchestra. The essence of life seemed bodily motion."[9] Helga has been plunged into her own unconsciousness, the dark, irrational, and emotional side of her nature she associates with her black blood. When the spell of the music is broken and the dance (itself symbolic) ends, the white side of her being, coldly rational and repressive, realizes "that not only had she been to the jungle, but that she had enjoyed it."[10] She revolts at the idea of being "a jungle creature" and is hardened in her resolve to escape to the white world of Europe. Suddenly, however, she spots a beautiful light-skinned girl, Audrey Denney, in the company of Dr. Anderson, himself now a refugee from Naxos, and the vision of the two of them together virtually hypnotizes Helga. She is fascinated by Audrey, filled with an "envious admiration" for her; and Audrey, described later in the novel as "poised, serene, certain" is the perfect foil to Helga,[11] for she is in actuality all that Helga longs to be. United with Anderson in the rhythm of the dance, Audrey serves, in effect, as Helga's alter ego, for Helga has herself subconsciously desired a union with Dr. Anderson from the beginning. Yet the vision of the two dancing together is an image of self-realization and fulfillment that Helga cannot come to terms with. It is an unheeded epiphany. Here, as is oftentimes the case elsewhere in imaginative literature, the descent into the Underworld, that is, into the psychic depths of Self, is a distressing experience for the protagonist, and Helga flees up a flight of surrealistically "endless" stairs until at last "panting, confused, but thankful to have escaped," she finds herself once again "out in the dark night alone, a small crumpled thing in a fragile black and gold dress."[12] In fleeing the nightclub, and in subsequently fleeing Harlem and America, Helga is futilely attempting to flee herself.

After two years with her aunt and uncle in Copenhagen, Helga is again the victim of an "indefinite discontent."[13] The promise of self-fulfillment she sought in Europe, the same promise she had earlier sought at Naxos, has proven to be illusory. The racial oppression of America has merely been replaced with the benign racial preconceptions of Scandinavia, where Helga is less important as a person than as an object, albeit an exotic and prized one. Smug in their European confidence that they are above the racial misconceptions that lie at the basis of American racism, Helga's Danish relatives, the Dahls, are, as the author is careful to show, not above exploiting their niece for their own purposes. Helga's alleged negritude makes of her a social drawing-card, and the primitive power the Danes attribute to her, an inexplicably sensual mystique, acts as a magnet in attracting the favor of the lionized artist, Axel Olsen, who paints Helga's portrait, investing it with a barbaric beauty which Helga prudishly disclaims.

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It is quite characteristic of Nella Larsen's breadth of vision as a novelist that she is capable of satirizing the more obvious absurdities growing out of the cult of the primitive while at the same time demonstrating the inadvertent value certain of its assumptions hold for her heroine. Helga's fastidious revulsion over the antics of black vaudeville performers at the Circus gradually becomes a fascinated obsession for her as she realizes that the Danes, for all their foolishness, somehow understand the valuable emotive under-currents peculiar to Black American cultural expression. Her realization of the unique aspects of her heritage, however unconscious, leads to a psychological reconciliation with the figure of her errant father, whom she once hated for his desertion of her mother and herself. It is at this point that Helga feels a homesickness, not for America *per se*, but for those same black people she came to Europe to escape. Significantly, it is during this same period that Helga rejects the proposal of her white suitor, Olsen, ostensibly for reasons of race.

For Mrs. Harper's Iola Leroy, the refusal of marriage to a successful white man, with its implicit rejection of all the supposed advantages of living in the white world, is presented as a reasoned step in the direction of the heroine's ultimate self-fulfillment as a "black" woman. Like Iola, Helga feels the tug of racial loyalties, and she drapes her refusal of Olsen's proposal in the cloak of rationality. But whereas Iola's act is the symbolic gesture of an idealized character, Helga's act is governed by a complex set of emotions and ambivalent attitudes appropriate to a character of her convincingly well-rounded dimensions. Iola Leroy belongs to a tradition of heroines who find virtue and virtuous choice an easy matter, in spite of all the perils placed in their way by external circumstances. Helga, on the other hand, belongs to a tradition of heroines represented by characters like Jane Austen's Emma Woodhouse, Henry James' Isabel Archer, and Gustav Flaubert's Madame Bovary, ladies who are all-too-human in one respect or another and whose limited vision and lack of self-understanding complicate their decisions and influence their lives for better or for worse. Accordingly, Helga's refusal of Olsen's proposal, however laudable it might be in an abstract sense, is presented as yet another irrational and instinctive reaction on her part. Behind Helga's talk of race there is the same fear and resentment, vanity, and the same perverse desire to wound evident in Helga's earlier encounters with men like Anderson and James Vayle, her ex-fiance from her days at Naxos.

It is an index of Helga's inner confusion and ambiguity of motive that it is not long after her return to the black world of Harlem that she half-wishes she had married the Danish artist after all, simply because such a course of action would shock and punish her friend, Anne, whom Helga unfairly resents for having married Dr. Anderson, the man whose earlier overtures in her own direction Helga had repulsed out of vanity and self-defeating petulence. In fact, the only "stable" aspect of Helga's personality and of her consequent actions is her emotional instability and recurrent restlessness, her habit of taking flight from one set of circumstances only to find herself dissatisfied with another. Nella Larsen implicitly suggests a naturalistic basis for the self-divisions at the core of Helga's problems. Her heroine is

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the product of an "unloved" and "unloving" childhood,[14] which, along with the schizoid role society prescribes for her, accounts in part at least for her inner turmoil and her inability to break out of the crippling shell of her ego-centrism. Helga's natural urge to love, which would normally have been directed outside herself, has instead been directed inward, resulting in a narcissism which is all-consuming and which makes the objective self-criticism and evaluation Helga so desperately needs a thing beyond her.

Various critics have suggested that a failure or refusal to know one's Self, to understand and acknowledge one's weaknesses and limitations, is the precipitating cause behind the fall of many, if not most, of the tragic figures in Western literature. Given such a view, a case can be made for Quicksand as a tragedy of sorts. Helga, as we have seen, flees from the imperative of self-knowledge, seeking to allay the dissatisfactions which arise from within her with a change of scene and society. Her refusal to face the reality about herself in turn distorts her perception of the reality around her, finally breeding tragic consequences. Toward the end of the novel, when Helga gets religion after literally picking herself up out of a gutter, there is a transitory hope that she is at last on the road to finding herself through losing herself in a life of faith. But the hope is short-lived. While it was possible for Mrs. Harper's Iola to find happiness in marriage to a man of her own race and in her devotion to the black "folk," Helga's attempt to find meaning for her life in a similar course of action is merely another effort at escaping herself, an effort in which, ironically enough, she is lost once and for all. As the wife of the semi-ignorant Reverend Pleasant Green, a black fundamentalist preacher who, like Samuel Johnson, is not overly fond of clean lines, the fastidious and cultured Helga is trapped once again in the South she swore to leave forever after the frustrations of Naxos. Life immersed in a tradition-centered black community in and of itself offers no solution to the quest for self-fulfillment. Instead, it becomes, for Helga at least, a veritable life-in-death, and there is an almost Sophoclean irony in the fact that the girl who boasted earlier in the novel that she felt it was sinful to bring black children into a world of poverty, ignorance and racial discrimination now finds herself caught up on a treadmill of seemingly ceaseless pregnancies, labors, births, and pregnancies.

Hiroko Sato is right in taking issue with Robert Bone who maintains that Nella Larsen is passing puritanical judgment on her heroine.[15] In Bone's view, Helga is presented as the victim of her own sexuality; her natural sexual appetite is made to bear the blame for her eventual downfall.[16] Such a reading could not be further from the truth. Nella Larsen goes to great length to demonstrate that sexual repression, as reflected in Helga's refusal to see the sensual side of her nature mirrored in Olsen's painting, is one of the major sources of her protagonist's discontent. But it should also be noted that, beyond certain of the Freudian assumptions which inform her novel, Miss Larsen is no Laurentian romantic. Helga and the Reverend Green are hardly Constance Chatterley and Mellors. Their sexual union is indeed the fatalistic source of dangerous pregnancies, not of self-fulfillment. Quite likely, Bone's failure to arrive at a satisfactory understanding of

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Quicksand is the result of his tendency as a critic to work within easily-defined categories, to reduce the problems raised in fiction to easy answers. In the world as Nella Larsen envisions it in Quicksand, there are no easy answers. And it is this fact, in the final analysis, that accounts for the major deviations from the "tragic mulatto" norm the novel itself entails.

Nella Larsen's sensibilities are thoroughly contemporary; in her world-view, "freedom," which is but another term for the "happiness" her heroine seeks,[17] is not, as it was for Helga's prototype, Iola Leroy, simply a matter of education, economic security and civil liberties. It rather depends upon coming to authentic terms with the Self. Nor is a sense of selfhood, of identity, simply a consequence of deciding to be either white or black. It results from an inner psychic balance which tends increasingly to elude white and black alike. The racial polarities around which the novel is structured ultimately function in such a way as to suggest parallels between the inner tensions and despair peculiar to Helga's experience and the plight of contemporary man himself. I submit that Nella Larsen succeeds in transforming stereotype into credible symbol. In the character of Helga Crane, the tragic mulatto figure evolves into a representation of an existential Everyman; the alienation and self-uncertainties of the fictional mixed blood become recognizable aspects of ourselves. Later in the course of American fiction, two white Southern writers, William Faulkner in Light in August and Robert Penn Warren in Band of Angels would do much the same thing. The success of their efforts, however, should in no way negate the remarkable accomplishments of Nella Larsen in her first novel. *Quicksand*, like Miss Larsen's second novel, *Passing*, deserves more readers and more critical attention than it has heretofore received.

FOOTNOTES

1. *Selected Poems of Langston Hughes* (New Yor
2. *Negro Voices in American Fiction* (Chapel H
3. *Quicksand* (New York: Negro Universities P
p. 7.
4. *Ibid*., p. 9.
5. *Ibid*., p. 95.
6. *Ibid*., p. 104.
7. *Ibid*., p. 121.
8. *Ibid*., p. 128.
9. *Ibid*., p. 129.
10. *Ibid*., p. 130.
11. *Ibid*., p. 221.
12. *Ibid*., p. 137.
13. *Ibid*., p. 179.
14. *Ibid*., p. 63.
15. "A Study of Jessie Fauset and Nella Larsen,
Renaissance Remembered, Arna Bontemps, ed.
p. 87.
16. *The Negro Novel in America* (New Haven, 1965
17. *Quicksand*, p. 102.

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FOOTNOTES

1. *Selected Poems of Langston Hughes* (New York, 1959), p. 158.
2. *Negro Voices in American Fiction* (Chapel Hill, 1948), p. 38.
3. *Quicksand* (New York: Negro Universities Press Reprint, 1969), p. 7.
4. *Ibid*., p. 9.
5. *Ibid*., p. 95.
6. *Ibid*., p. 104.
7. *Ibid*., p. 121.
8. *Ibid*., p. 128.
9. *Ibid*., p. 129.
10. *Ibid*., p. 130.
11. *Ibid*., p. 221.
12. *Ibid*., p. 137.
13. *Ibid*., p. 179.
14. *Ibid*., p. 63.
15. "A Study of Jessie Fauset and Nella Larsen," in *The Harlem Renaissance Remembered*, Arna Bontemps, ed. (New York, 1972), p. 87.
16. *The Negro Novel in America* (New Haven, 1965), p. 105.
17. *Quicksand*, p. 102.

IN THE MAINSTREAM OR THE BACK OF THE CHAPTER

by

Nicholas J. Karolides
University of Wisconsin - River Falls
River Falls, Wisconsin

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When Rosa Parks in 1955 refused to give up her bus seat in the Jim Crow section of the bus she was riding to a white passenger, she did more than start the Montgomery, Alabama, bus boycott. Symbolically as well as literally she expressed the effort to bring minority Americans out of the backwater into the mainstream of American life. That particular incident ended in success: it broke the dam of segregation in public transportation, thus opening the way to further action. Probably more significant, it challenged social patterns that had established themselves in most Americans' minds.

There have been other starts, some false, some true, some leading to deadends, others opening on horizons. Other groups have taken up the challenge so that awareness of the forgotten and mistreated is now on the land. But we should not be bemused by successes which seem large when measured against the humanistically disastrous past: there are changes, there are breakthroughs, one being our very awareness. But the reality of our slow pace and the limited extent of success is put clearly into focus by recalling that it was in May, 1954, that the United States Supreme Court handed down its "all deliberate speed" ruling against segregated schools. Instead of speed one gets the impression of treading water.

It is in this general context of humanistic challenge to and change of social patterns and attitudes and the specific context of education that minority literature for adolescents must be reviewed--both as to its nature and content and its potential impact. Admittedly impact is difficult if not impossible to assess but it relates to the availability and content of materials and thus to their use. While interactions and responses of readers are individualistic and relatively unpredictable, they do depend upon the materials chosen. Thus on this basis, the analysis of patterns of availability is suggestive of impact and content criteria.

The Christian Science Monitor in January published a brief but telling survey of the place being given to blacks in school textbooks. The conclusions, stated in the lead paragraph, are instructive in themselves but also referential to the current situation in literature: "Blacks today are taking their place beside whites in American school textbooks but in some texts they still are relegated to the back of the chapter."[1] A quantitative accomplishment is evidenced: breaking into the "all white" textbooks. However, the inclusion of photographs of blacks and information about them in separate sections is a half-way measure at best. Even this much has not been accomplished for other minority groups, as suggested by Dr. James Squire, editor-in-chief of Ginn & Company, who is quoted in the article. Qualitatively, the texts also vary ranging from "neutral" statements--students are supposed presumably to judge the good and bad aspects of slavery--to those with strong moral judgments against slavery.[2]

Squire's estimate of the situation is borne out by several other studies, notably Textbooks and The American Indian by the American Indian Historical Society, and Searching for America, a publication of the National Council of Teachers of English Task Force on Racism and Bias in the Teaching of English. The former, which contains evaluations of over 300 school textbooks, found "not one that could be approved as a dependable source of knowledge about the history and

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culture of the Indian people in America. Most c
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The second resource reviews college level Americ
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te of the situation is borne out by several other
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ciety, and *Searching for America*, a publication of
of Teachers of English Task Force on Racism and
of English. The former, which contains evalu-
hool textbooks, found "not one that could be
ble source of knowledge about the history and

culture of the Indian people in America. Most contained misinformation, distortions, or omissions of important history."[3] For example, the books relating most closely to the present subject, those representing American heroes, represent but two Indians--Sequoyah and Will Rogers. The second resource reviews college level American literature texts with regard to their inclusion of ethnic and racial groups, notably blacks, Chinese Americans, Indian Americans, Chicanos and Puerto Ricans. "Using the framework explicitly stated by the editors and authors of these books, the reviewers have disclosed irrational inclusions and culturally damaging omissions."[4] Members of non-white minorities were inadequately represented in general anthologies or were represented with material which is demeaning, insensitive, or unflattering. The study of high school texts of NCTE's Committee on Minority Literature is revealing parallel patterns of omission or limited image.

This evidence suggests that one cannot rely on history textbooks and literature anthologies to accomplish such goals as realistically representing our multi-ethnic, multi-cultural society, or amplifying the definition of the "world" or creating positive identification of ethnic-racial individuals for themselves or others. Nor will there be created any sense of the inter-ethnic conflicts or contacts that exist. Certainly the simply literary task of representing fully the literature of America will not be met either. At least until those materials change we must turn to fiction. This is not suggested as second best for it is in the intensity of interaction with people, situations and issues found in fictional literature that the adolescent can gain a large measure of his learning about the world and his place in it.

Comparable to textbooks, the world of adolescent literature has been essentially all white, too. Nancy Larrick in 1965 cited extensive evidence to support this assertion, establishing "the almost complete omission of Negroes from books for children."[5] The situation has changed markedly for some groups; there is, however, a note of reservation to be made both in relative and real terms.

In terms of general availability we can happily point to the increased numbers of books about minority peoples as well as to their ready identification. This can be verified in part by the existence of numerous specialized bibliographies in contrast to the meager offerings of ten years ago; additionally the listings within these have been expanded. For example, the New York Public Library's 1963 list, *Books About Negro Life for Children* (edited by Augusta Baker) contained twenty-nine adolescent fiction titles as compared to eighty-four in the 1971 edition, retitled *The Black Experience in Children's Books*. In recent years we have at our disposal the NCTE's *Negro Literature for High School Students* (by Barbara Dodds, 1968), The American Federation of Teachers' *Children's Interracial Fiction* (by Barbara Jean Glancy, 1969), NCTE's *Literature by and about the American Indian* (by Anna Lee Stensland, 1973), the Bureau of Indian Affairs' *An Annotated Bibliography of Young People's Books on American Indians* (by Sandra J. Fox, 1973), the Seattle Public School's multi-ethnic *Books Transcend Barriers* (by Marilyn Cambell, 1972), and many others. Each contains many titles.

This data is positive and reassuring, but a brief analysis of non-specialized bibliographies is less so. The NCTE's recently revised

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Books For You is a case in point. Comparing selected sections of "normal" human interaction from the 1964 and 1971 editions, we discover that in the "Adventure" section of some 100 titles there are but two minority-oriented books listed in either edition. In the "Family Circle" section the minority selections double from four to nine (out of forty-six and sixty respectively), but the additional titles focus on poor whites. The reverse pattern is seen in the "Love and Romances" section, the ratio dropping from four to two out of about fifty titles. Minority peoples, primarily blacks, do achieve greater proportional recognition in the "Sports" and "Interesting People" sections, this being from 10 to 15 percent. In "Sports" all but one title are biographies. It is only in the "Man and Society" section that large scale representation is evident--from 22 to 36 percent--but again the primary attention is on blacks. Indians, Mexicans, and Orientals get minimal inclusion. Comparably NCTE's High Interest--Easy Reading for Junior and Senior High School Students includes only about forty minority titles in over 400 selections.

In this "back of the bus" situation, minority literature is presented separate and unequal. Despite the worth and need of the specialized bibliographies we should integrate minority materials in the general bibliographies as well so that these characters can take their place alongside white ones. This is especially necessary when it is likely that such a bibliography will be used to find stories to match special interests of readers. The student should be able to find and expect to find minority characters in these categories. Of course, bibliographers have some justification for omissions. Stories featuring minority characters have not been written in any great numbers in categories such as romance, mystery, and adventure. This excuse does not apply, however, to categories like "family circle."

It is not surprising that a major focus of recent black books represent tensions with the white world. This is also so of earlier books, but there are interesting differences. Among the widely circulated earlier books,[6] white settings predominate and problems are handled rather easily. *A Cap for Mary Ellis* (by Hope Newell, 1953) takes the heroine who shows few racial characteristics out of Harlem which we visit briefly and superficially to a nursing school; she and a friend are its first black students. Despite preliminary fears of racial hostility, very little occurs; personal adjustment problems are more severe than racial ones. This might well be realistic; however, the racial issues that exist seem simplistically resolved. In *Call Me Charley* (by Jesse Jackson, 1945) the all white community rejects Charley, who is the son of servants. Prejudice is real, and Charley's submissive character seems quite possible, especially given the time and place. The situations are solved by the intervention of several of the white characters, thus projecting both a paternalistic white world and a relatively incapable and inactive black character despite the author's stated code of work and upward mobility. The popular *Lilies of the Field* (by William Barrett, 1962) has a single black in a white community helping some immigrant German nuns. He at least has a semblance of pride and decision. A group of girl's books focus on school situations--white schools: *Julie's Heritage* (by Catherine Marshall, 1957), *Masquerade* (by Dorothy Butters, 1961), *Hold Fast to Your Dreams*

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(by Catherine Blanton, 1955), and The Barred Road (by Adele DeLeeau, 1954); these too often offer strong white characters or fairy godmother solutions. Even the well-received To Kill a Mockingbird (by Harper Lee, 1960) for older audiences is essentially white in its point of view.

Books like Lorenz Graham's South Town (1958), Ann Petry's The Street (1946), and Gordon Parks' The Learning Tree (1963) are key exceptions among early books focusing as they essentially do on the experiences and lives of blacks in a black community. They do not disallow the white conflict but pose it from an internal point of view.

This new emphasis is strikingly evident in the books published after 1965. The point of view is markedly black; the settings are usually within the black community or revealing of them. Contemporary urban settings predominate--Harlem in Kristin Hunter's Soul Brothers and Sister Lou (1968), Chicago in Ronald Fair's Hog Butcher (1966)--but the rural South is represented in Sounder (by William Armstrong, 1969) and Jubilee (by Margaret Walker, 1966). The latter, a black Gone With the Wind, represents a shift in time focus as well--there are too few books for adolescents set in a slavery environment.

Black point of view is represented variously. In The Contender (by Robert Lipsyte, 1967) several types of life styles and attitudes are depicted from among which the hero must choose. In The Summer In Between (by Melissa Mather, 1967) the black consciousness is contrasted with that of a white family. In both of these books, it is clear that the characters must come to terms with themselves--not solely or mainly with the white society. Similarly in Mary Vroman's Harlem Summer

(1967) the rural Mississippi-bred hero is finding himself as well as understanding the Harlem life style and codes which are different from his own. In Beetlecreek (by William Demby, 1967) it is evident that the frustrations and tragic consequences relate to black-white tensions, but the hero's primary focus is on his development and his interaction with his own society. In this light can also be seen such diverse works as Jubilee, the Civil War novel, and Blueschild Baby, George Cain's Harlem streets novel (1970).

The tensions developed, however, do not sidestep the social issues; indeed these are frequently central. The effects of slavery and reconstruction upon the characters of Jubilee are not muted, despite the shred of hope expressed at the conclusion. Andre Schwarz-Bart's A Woman Named Solitude (1972) graphically recounts a slave rebellion and the conditons leading to it. The Soul Brothers and Sister Lou as well as Hog Butcher include police killings, this being the central incident in the latter. The author includes the impact of corruption, the pressure of fear and conflicting values so as to develop the ethics and behavior of his characters.

These characters come across as stronger, less submissive; even when they're despised as in Sounder or thwarted as in Louise Meriwether's Daddy Was a Number Runner, or self-destructive as in Warren Miller's The Cool World (1959) or George Cain's Blueschild Baby, they emerge as individuals with pride and purpose.

These brief notations express too the wide variety of story types available. They range from the semi-sport situation of The Contender and Jan Hartman's Joshua (1970), the romance of June Jordan's His Own Where (1971), to the integration conflict of Bella
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Fiction of the American Indian for adolescents is less widespread and fewer in number; however, it follows a generally comparable pattern. Bibliographies tend to list historical fiction, numerically emphasizing the pre-white period. Ms. Stensland's bibliography offers a considerably wider percentage of selections dealing with interracial contacts both historical and current. This deficiency results from the paucity of such materials though general bibliographers can do better than they have done, as Ms. Stensland proves.

Contemporary time settings though not always in the immediate present focus on culture conflict situations through the trials of its Indian protagonist. These, most of which were written in recent years for more mature audiences, evince the turmoil and frustration of the Indian caught between two worlds. But this is not to say that they are altogether identical. Dan Cushman's Stay Away, Joe (1968) evokes comedy amid struggle, while Mitchell Jayne's Old Fish Hawk (1971) expresses pathos. Both are drinkers: Joe is living high, making the most of his war hero status and youthful virility while Fish Hawk is alcoholic, escaping from his sense of loss and defeat. The heroes of Hal Borland's When the Legends Die (1972), Thomas Fall's The Ordeal of Running Standing (1971), and N. Scott Momaday's House Made of Dawn (1969) reflect the crisis of identity; their lives and psyches being torn asunder by the divisive demands and counsels.

There are identity crisis books written about earlier periods, too, notably Oliver LaFarge's Laughing Boy (1929), Edwin Corle's Fig

Tree John (1935), and Frank Waters' The Man Who Killed the Deer (1942). These, written earlier, feature Indian characters who are more imbued with their own culture but still must face the pressures of an encroaching society. Benjamin Capps' The White Man's Road (1972) is a recent book which sympathetically expresses the search of a young man to find a way of establishing his manhood once the traditional methods have been wiped away by reservation life.

Many of the earlier books, while largely sympathetic to the Indian point of view and effectively representing their culture, nevertheless utilize white characters. These include highly reputed "captive" books such as Conrad Richter's Light in the Forest (1953) and Wayne Dougherty's Crimson Moccasins (1966) as well as the recent Little Big Man (by Thomas Berger, 1969) and Komantcia (by Harold Keith, 1965). Each of these characters somehow manage to be adopted by a chief. There are other books which follow a white character's introduction to Indian life such as Moccasin Trail (by Eloise McGraw, 1952), Rifles for Watie (by Harold Keith, 1957), and Johnny Osage (by Janice Giles, 1960).

These comments are brief and do not deal with the novels of the past, these being more familiar. Concentration on blacks and Indians is necessary because they are most frequently represented in adolescent fiction and thus illustrate the problems and criteria more fully. The limited numbers of books about other minority groups increase the difficulties of selection, a problem that is magnified by the existence of mediocre books; they stand out in a relatively barren field.

In the selection of minority fiction for adolescents, close scrutiny of materials in relation to objectives is a necessity. Since

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introduction and developing impressions of people are a primary concern, especially for non-minority audiences, but no less so for the minority readers themselves, a priority is that the fiction focus fully and honestly on the minority peoples in terms of point of view and experiences. This does not bar integrated books, obviously, nor books in which minority characters are in secondary or background roles. Indeed, this is necessary to reasonably express a multi-racial and multi-ethnic society; more minority characters should appear in white literature.

Further, in addition to the individuality and humanity of the characterization, it is necessary to provide a wide range of personalities, concerns and behaviors, while retaining those universal attributes and aspirations that mark human intercourse. A natural adjunct of this criterion is the need for variety in settings and periods, activities and situations. We cannot limit blacks to gangs or sports or integration crises any more than Indians should be relegated to the campfire and the buffalo hunt. Books should not practice avoidance tactics in relation to social issues, nor should they be limited to them. In short, an honest representation demands a more total reality.

The need to integrate bibliographies was noted earlier. The concluding point is to underscore the parallel need to integrate curriculum materials. Again this is equally significant in its application to minority and non-minority students. Participation in the mainstream and acceptance in it will become more possible when representation in it is the norm. Thus while specialized courses have pertinence, even necessity, they seem to me to signify separatism unless integration is also accomplished. It is a divisive image reminiscent of the back-of-the-bus/back-of-the-chapter practice. Worse still, given the adoption by many school systems of elective programs, it is quite possible for students to miss or avoid the specialized course--thus the contacts--altogether. With appropriately selected materials, this need not happen; through literary experiences students can be led to find themselves, to interact with others like and unlike themselves, and to explore the real world around them.

FOOTNOTES

1. Florence Mouckley, "Blacks in School Texts--
Christian Science Monitor (January 3, 1974),
2. Florence Mouckley, "Black-History Instructio
The Christian Science Monitor (January 4, 1974
3. American Indian Historical Society, Textbooks
Indian (San Francisco, 1970), p. 11.
4. Ernece B. Kelly, Searching for America (Urban
p. xiii.
5. Nancy Larrich, "The All-White World of Childre
Review (September 11, 1965), pp. 63-5 ff.
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2. Florence Mouckley, "Black-History Instruction Varies Across U.S.," The Christian Science Monitor (January 4, 1974), p. 5.
3. American Indian Historical Society, Textbooks and The American Indian (San Francisco, 1970), p. 11.
4. Ernece B. Kelly, Searching for America (Urbana, Illinois, 1972), p. xiii.
5. Nancy Larrich, "The All-White World of Children's Books," Saturday Review (September 11, 1965), pp. 63-5 ff.
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BLACK BOURGEOIS NATIONALISM AT THE TURN OF THE CENTURY:
SOME PROBLEMS FOR SCHOLARS

by

Wilson J. Moses
University of Iowa
Iowa City, Iowa

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It mattered little whether Afro-American leadership was assimilationistic or black nationalistic during the years 1895 to 1925, since the extremists in neither camp were to see their visions materialize, and the moderates, being moderates, were more influenced by practical considerations than by ideological prejudices. Both the assimilationists and the nationalists tended to accept without question many of the prejudices of the Anglo-American bourgeoisie. Afro-American leaders as different as Booker T. Washington, Marcus Garvey, and Mary Church Terrell agreed upon one point--the need for "Negro Improvement." Not only should the conditions under which the masses lived be improved, the people themselves should be improved. Both radical integrationism and black nationalism pursued their dissimilar goals via the same means, which was the uplift, the improvement, the "civilization" of all of the sons and daughters of Africa, everywhere. It was generally accepted by even the proudest and most militant spokesmen that if black people were going to survive, they would have to improve.

The black bourgeoisie have usually felt obliged to uplift the masses for at least the following reasons: first, embarrassment by the lack of "civilization" among the masses; second, a genuine sympathy with the masses--for the bourgeoisie are only slightly less vulnerable than they to institutional racism and to the attacks of individual racists; third, the realization that the bourgeoisie themselves would become more secure as their race became more powerful. The impulses toward the civilizing of Africa and the uplifting of the black American masses, never too far removed from each other, became logical extensions of each other when viewed in this way. The purpose of this study is to describe the domestic program for uplift as an element of Afro-American bourgeois thought in political ideology, woman's activism, religious leadership and literary endeavor.

Recent authors concerned with the study of nationalism have recognized that black nationalism in the United States is similar to other nationalistic movements, Zionism, for example. Specialists in Afro-American Studies have often been concerned with the description and definition of black nationalism. Howard Brotz, for example, divided Afro-American social and political thought into two categories--assimilationism and black nationalism.[1] Black nationalism could be divided into two sub-categories--cultural nationalism and political nationalism. Assimilationism was represented by some of the writings of Frederick Douglass, Henry Highland Garnett, and Booker T. Washington. Political nationalism, which Brotz discussed in its broad connections with the colonization movement and other forms of migrationism, was represented by some of the writings of Alexander Crummell, Edward Wilmot Blyden, James T. Holly, and Martin R. Delaney. Brotz's excessively rigid definitions of black nationalism and assimilationism led to his overlooking such documents as the perennially popular David Walker's Appeal; it also overlooked the implications of Walker's having employed the rhetoric of black messianic nationalism in a diatribe against African repatriation. There were, after all, some black nationalists who opposed territorial separatism.[2] It was his tendency to overlook complexities such as these that weakened Brotz's introduction to a useful collection of documents.

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riterial separatism.[2] It was his tendency to
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of documents.

John H. Bracey proposed a more diversified range of black nationalisms in his "Black Nationalism Since Garvey," and included economic nationalism, political nationalism, and cultural nationalism, but he did not recognize that black nationalism since Garvey is inclined to be less assimilationistic than it was before him. Indeed Garvey was the classic example of political and racial separatism (combined with cultural assimilationism). While Bracey described several varieties of black nationalism, he did not define black nationalism in the sense of distinguishing it from other forms of black political activity.[3] In a recent anthology, Black Nationalism in America, Bracey, and his co-editors, Professors August Meier and Elliot Rudwick, tried to keep the definition of black nationalism fairly broad, including among the nationalists such names as Frederick Douglass and Booker T. Washington, whom Brotz excluded from the nationalist category. The early writings of W. E. B. DuBois were characterized as ambivalent which seemed to imply that DuBois was atypical or that ambivalence was not characteristic of most black nationalists.[4]

Ambivalence seems to have been present in most black nationalist thought, but especially during the years 1890 to 1925, for black nationalism during those years was undergoing a great change from its older nineteenth century Christian civilizationist pattern to its present day twentieth century secular culturalist pattern. Christian civilizationist black nationalism, before World War I glorified efficiency, uplift, industrial management, sexual restraint, temperance, and military efficiency. Secular cultural black nationalism, during and after the 20's, would glorify ghetto life, hard drinking, fast dancing, primitivism, exotic fantasy, and erotic escapism. The inability of old-school cultural nationalists, like DuBois and Garvey, to understand the younger nationalists, like Claude McKay and Rudolph Fisher, resulted from the secularization of black life. World War I had accelerated the rates of secularization and urbanization as black people streamed into the cities in what has been called the great migration.[5]

But ambivalence characterized the pronouncements of black nationalists long before the generational conflict of the twenties. We observe a persistent uneasiness cropping up in black nationalistic pronouncements during the progressive era. It is present in the utterances of Booker T. Washington, who publicly said that the races should continue to exist as separate as the fingers of the hand in all things purely social, and privately wrote letters to radical Boston white women saying: "If anybody understood me as meaning that riding in the same railroad car or sitting in the same room at a railroad station is social intercourse, they certainly got a wrong idea of my position."[6] We see this ambivalence in the thought of Alexander Crummell, who claimed a great respect for the indigenous manners and morals of the native West Africans, but never gave up his idea of endowing them with Christian religion, English language, and American constitutionalism.[7] We recognize this ambivalence in the thought of Marcus Garvey, who spoke of civilizing Africa and, as he described them, "the backward tribes."[8] And, of course, W. E. B. DuBois displayed such ambivalence when he spoke of his "two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body."[9]

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The black nationalist has always been pulled in two directions at once; wishing, on the one hand, to exalt everything that is black or African, but recognizing, on the other hand, the need for black people to acquire some of the values and skills of the white world. The pattern of ambivalence has not prevailed in all areas of black bourgeois life, however. It was not particularly evident in the pronouncements of organized women's groups, especially in the area of sexual morality, where attitudes were unequivocally conservative. The black community was extremely sensitive with respect to this issue, and with good reason. Black women were victims of Victorian civilization. In an age that demanded beauty and chastity of women, seeing these as the highest, indeed the only virtues to which women might aspire, popular attitudes allowed black women to be neither beautiful nor chaste. Even a sympathetic leader like Alexander Crummell spoke in 1883 of the "gross barbarism" under which the masses of Afro-American women had historically lived, which "tended to blunt the tender sensibilities, to obliterate feminine delicacy and womanly shame, [and] came down as her heritage from generation to generation."[10]

During the progressive era, Afro-American women's organizations tended to encourage acceptance of the values of American civilization whenever there seemed to be any conflict between those values and the values of the Southern black culture. The concern of the National Association of Colored Women (NACW) during the 1890's with the issue of social purity provides an illustration of this.[11] The NACW was founded in 1895 in response to an attack by one Jonathan W. Jacks of Montgomery City, Missouri, who wrote a vicious letter attacking the sexual morality of black people to Miss Florence Balgarnie, an English supporter of anti-lynching reform.[12] Miss Balgarnie sent a copy of the letter to The Woman's Era, a liberal Boston newsmagazine, owned and operated by Afro-American women.[13] The NACW was formed as a result of this incident, ostensibly to defend black men and women from the kind of slander being circulated by Jacks. As we might expect, however, the NACW affiliates devoted a large part of their energies to temperance and social purity activities in addition to attacking the racism, both institutional and petty, that lowered the quality of Afro-American life.[14] Their obsession with social purity would seem to have been an informal acknowledgment of the possibility that Jacks was right and that the morality of the black population--of the black sharecropper woman, in particular--was something less than it should have been. This suggests that some black leaders internalised Euro-American racist and sexist values.

The circumstances under which black people lived in America could hardly have produced lives characterised by Victorian ideals of genteel courtship and sexual morality. And yet, black peasant life was not totally devoid of tenderness. The poems of Paul Laurence Dunbar often deal with the simple joys of love, courtship and family life among the black masses, who are often portrayed as possessing an unpretentious natural gentility.[15] Generally speaking, however, there was little appreciation among turn of the century bourgeois blacks of the idea that the sexual morality of a black sharecropper might be healthier and more natural than that of a middle class Negro. The Rev. William H. Ferris, a Yale M.A. and a high ranking officer in the Garvey movement

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marriage tie."[16]

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character of traditional black nationalism in Ame
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during the twenties, was typical of black intellectuals when he wrote in his sprawling masterpiece, The African Abroad,

"I have come to the conclusion that the Anglo-Saxon ideal of manhood and womanhood is the highest the world has yet seen, the highest that will ever be evolved in the history of the world. . . . God has given the Anglo-Saxon the dominion of the earth, only because he has obeyed His moral laws, only because he has reverenced and held sacred the purity and virtue of woman, and has respected the sanctity of the marriage tie."[16]

A statement such as this reveals the essentially reactionary character of traditional black nationalism in America, which lags behind liberal movements in the endorsement of truly revolutionary and reform-minded activism, especially in the area of women's rights. Reactionism in the areas of sexual liberation and women's rights are characteristic of American black nationalism today, especially among such extremely orthodox factions as the Nation of Islam and the Falasha Jews. It would be safe to say that contemporary black nationalists see women primarily as breeding stock, not as responsible human beings. This is one reason for the hostility of black nationalists to intermarriage. The inability of black nationalism to respond in any meaningful way to the challenge of women's liberation is its most glaring failure in the twentieth century. The inability of the National Association of Colored Women to liberate themselves from the Christian civilizing impulses, present in all black institutional life, hindered their effectiveness as a voice for the liberation of Afro-American women at the turn of the century. For women could not be liberated by any philosophy that ignored their right to sexual freedom.

The Afro-American clergy, like the women's reformers, seemed to accept, without question, the values of the world that surrounded them; even so, they conceived of themselves as servants of the black community and guardians of its interests. Alexander Crummell, for example, thought of himself as eminently black and on more than one occasion voiced his disdain for colored aristocrats and mulattos who bragged of their stain of bastardy.[17] But, as has been said, Crummell had little appreciation for the values of black sharecroppers. Described by one of his contemporaries as "conservative" and "somewhat punctillious" Crummell at times impressed even other black intellectuals as somewhat authoritarian.[18]

It is interesting to note that the principal black religious leaders to have endorsed political nationalism have not sprung from the grass roots leadership of the Baptist church, but from the elitist Episcopalians. Not only was Alexander Crummell an Episcopal priest, so were J. T. Holly, Bishop of Haiti, and George Alexander McGuire, chaplain of the Garvey movement.[19] Generally speaking, black nationalists have been at odds with the Baptist church, and with enthusiastic revivalism. It is common for leaders of the black nationalist urban religious cults to ridicule the rantings of storefront preachers. The Nation of Islam continues to ridicule the storefront church, along with the more "respectable" expressions of Christianity, as an Uncle Tom institution.[20]

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The Afro-American church in the progressive era clearly saw its work as encompassing more than the saving of souls. A significant number of black clergymen demonstrated interest in applying religion to the here and now. It was, during the progressive era, and still is today, common for black clergymen to publicize biblical interpretations well suited to the problems of Afro-Americans. The Kingdom Builder's Manual, published by Sutton Griggs in the early twenties, was such a volume and was intended as a companion piece to his Guide to Racial Greatness and Science of Collective Efficiency. Griggs' Scientific Christianity was a typically "progressive" if somewhat folksy approach to social engineering.[21]

Christian Science is paralleled by the development of Moorish Science under the leadership of Noble Drew Ali, one of many mystic holy men to appear during the years of the great migration.[22] Why is it that these holy men were able to compete so successfully with the Christian churches in attracting converts? Did they bring followers with them from the South, or people predisposed to accept Islam? Is it possible that some forms of Islam had survived in the South, along with Obeah and Voodoo ritual? What conceptions of civilization must have existed in the minds of the poor black migrants, who, arriving in Chicago in 1913, were appealed to by the words "Asiatic," "Science," and "Moorish"? Since becoming a member of the Moorish Temple meant undergoing a change in status from Negro to Asiatic, can we conjecture anything about the attitudes of the masses and their leaders to Africa and blackness? Black religion, whether of the Muslim or of the Christian variety, tended to assume that there was something wrong with being a black African. The program for uplift proposed by Afro-American clergymen usually involved a renunciation of certain values, historically associated with the lifestyles of the Afro-American masses. Bourgeois clergymen attempted to stamp out those aspects of black mass culture that did not conform to mainstream culture, justifying their position by incorrectly attributing all Africanistic behaviors, of which traits they disapproved, to the heritage of slavery.[23]

Before speaking to the question of literary traditions, it is necessary to state a few critical assumptions: First, that we can speak calmly and intelligently about an Afro-American literary tradition. Second, that the term "literary tradition" has often been used to describe the characteristic content of a literature, and has not necessarily implied peculiarity of form or of language. Third, that when we speak about the Afro-American or any other literary tradition, we ought to be discussing some specific manifestations of thought and feeling, persisting long enough to be associated with the historical self-conception of the people who have produced it. Fourth, that while a literary tradition must, of course, find repeated expression in literary forms, it need not be transmitted through formal literature alone.

Since the 1930's, specialists in black studies have recognized the existence of a tradition that we now speak of as Ethiopianism. Ethiopianism is a religious, political, and literary tradition parallel to and arising contemporaneously with the American idea of manifest destiny, but not derived from it. It takes its name from the biblical quotation, "Princes shall come out of Egypt; Ethi
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quotation, "Princes shall come out of Egypt; Ethiopia shall soon stretch forth her hands unto God" (ps. 58, 31). The passage was usually translated to mean that Africa and the African peoples would *soon* be upgraded, through both their own efforts and the agency of divine providence.[24]

While protest has certainly been an important element of black writing, some of the best works of black literature have been outside the protest tradition. Black literature, before the Civil War, was concerned primarily with protest and agitation, since it was directed mainly at an audience of sympathetic whites. During the progressive era, the best literature was directed at a racially mixed audience. In the novels of Sutton Griggs, for example, there are messages of protest directed to the white reader, and messages of uplift directed to the black reader. As our knowledge and understanding of black intellectual history increase, we discover that literary traditionalism is far more pronounced in black writing than many of the experts have assumed. The themes of "Negro Improvement," whether moral or material, mystical or temporal, dominate early black writing.

In summary, most black leaders, including black nationalists, tended to be assimilationistic at the end of the 19th century and encouraged their people to accept the values of the Anglo-American gentry. The cultural disruption following World War I, the decline of the gentry class as an important element in American life, and the secularization and urbanization of black life taking place during these same years caused the civilizationist pattern of black intellectualism to break down. A new urban culturalism began to appear, and the black bourgeoisie began to look to the lifestyles of the masses as having a validity of their own. But the civilizationist pattern still persists in such groups as the Nation of Islam, whose leaders still reject the values of the masses and still espouse a doctrine of uplift.

When we recognize the ironic historical fact that black nationalism has traditionally been an assimilationist doctrine and that it has usually attempted to impress upon its adherents the desirability of accepting the conservative values of mainstream American culture, we must wonder why black nationalism, in the form of black studies, does not meet with greater encouragement from university administrations. For black studies approached from a black nationalistic perspective would seem to have great potential for teaching black students assimilationist values. And, judging from the pronouncements of university administrators, they do want black students to become more assimilation minded. Or do they?

FOOTNOTES

1. See the introduction to Howard Brotz, ed., *Political Thought, 1850-1920: Representat*
1966).
2. For example, see David Walker's *Appeal in*
readily available edition is that of 1848,
author. This edition has been reprinted by
York Times, 1969.
3. John H. Bracey, "Black Nationalism Since Ca
Huggins, Martin Kilson, and Daniel M. Fox,
Afro-American Experience, Vol. II, pp. 259-
4. John H. Bracey, August Meier, and Elliott M
Nationalism in America (Indianapolis, 1970).
5. See, for example, Emmett J. Scott, *Negro Mi*
(New York, 1920), also Arna Bontemps, *Anypl*
1966).
6. Booker T. Washington to Edna Dow Cheney, Oct
Dow Cheney Papers, Boston Public Library, Ra
7. Alexander Crummell, *Africa and America* (Spri
idea is recurrent throughout this volume.
pp. 312-3.
8. Marcus Garvey, *Philosophy and Opinions*, Vol.
9. W. E. B. DuBois, *The Souls of Black Folk* (Ch
10. Crummell, *Africa and America*, p. 66.

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FOOTNOTES

1. See the introduction to Howard Brotz, ed., *Negro Social and Political Thought, 1850-1920: Representative Texts*, (New York, 1966).
2. For example, see David Walker's *Appeal in Four Articles*. The most readily available edition is that of 1848, used by the present author. This edition has been reprinted by Arno Press and The New York Times, 1969.
3. John H. Bracey, "Black Nationalism Since Garvey," in Nathan Huggins, Martin Kilson, and Daniel M. Fox, eds., *Key Issues in the Afro-American Experience*, Vol. II, pp. 259-79.
4. John H. Bracey, August Meier, and Elliott M. Rudwick, eds., *Black Nationalism in America* (Indianapolis, 1970). See the introduction.
5. See, for example, Emmett J. Scott, *Negro Migration During the War* (New York, 1920), also Arna Bontemps, *Anyplace but Here* (New York, 1966).
6. Booker T. Washington to Edna Dow Cheney, October 15, 1895, Edna Dow Cheney Papers, Boston Public Library, Rare Books Room.
7. Alexander Crummell, *Africa and America* (Springfield, 1891). The idea is recurrent throughout this volume. See, for example, pp. 312-3.
8. Marcus Garvey, *Philosophy and Opinions*, Vol. II, p. 38.
9. W. E. B. DuBois, *The Souls of Black Folk* (Chicago, 1903), p. 3.
10. Crummell, *Africa and America*, p. 66.

11. Elizabeth Lindsay Davis, *Lifting as They Climb* (Washington, 1933), p. 25. Also see the convention minutes of the National Association of Colored Women for 1895 and 1896 in *History of the Club Movement Among the Colored Women of the United States of America* (1902), cited hereafter as *History*.

12. *History*, p. 28.

13. *The Women's Era*, June, 1895, II:4:12.

14. It would be irresponsible to overlook the fact that the organization was instituted largely in order to impose the sexual mores of the bourgeoisie upon the black masses. Open scorn for black proletarian sexual values was a consistent feature of the NACW platform.

15. See, for example, Dunbar's poem, "My Sweet Brown Gal" in *When Malindy Sings* (New York, 1904), p. 105.

16. William H. Ferris, *The African Abroad* (New Haven, 1913), Vol. I, p. 405.

17. Alexander Crummell to John E. Bruce, letter in the Schomburg Collection of the New York Public Library dated April 7, 1896. In a similar vein see Crummell's references to "the base process of intermixture" in op. cit., p. 45.

18. See, for example, William Wells Brown, *The Rising Son* (Boston, 1874), p. 456, and Carter G. Woodson, ed., *Works of Francis J. Grimke* (Washington, 1942), Vol. I, p. 31.

19. Obviously, I offer this as a qualitative and not as a quantitative evaluation. The three episcopal priests cited were exceptionally influential among black nationalists, althoug
representative of black preachers.

20. An observation made by Howard Brotz in *The Bl*
(New York, 1970), p. 25. The tendency persis
pages of *Muhammad Speaks* and is readily obser
of Gerald 2X in that same periodical.

21. Sutton Griggs, *The Kingdom Builder's Manual* (

22. Information on Noble Drew Ali and the Moorish
in Arthur Huff Faussett, *Black Gods of the Me*
(Philadelphia, 1942).

23. *Africa and America*, p. 94.

24. The first attempts by specialists in black st
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are detectable in Benjamin Brawley, *The Negro*
1937), and Benjamin Mays, *The God as Reflecte*
(Boston, 1938). Ethiopianism as a religious
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Mt. Kenya (London, 1938), Chapter 11; and Dani
Seething African Pot (London, 1936). More rec
which unfortunately lack any real concern with
are George Shepperson, "Ethiopianism and Afric
Phylon, No. 1, 1953, and St. Clair Drake in *Th*
Africa and Black Religion (Chicago, 1970). Sh

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influential among black nationalists, although hardly representative of black preachers.

20. An observation made by Howard Brotz in *The Black Jews of Harlem* (New York, 1970), p. 25. The tendency persists on the editorial pages of *Muhammad Speaks* and is readily observable in the cartoons of Gerald 2X in that same periodical.

21. Sutton Griggs, *The Kingdom Builder's Manual* (Memphis, 1924?).

22. Information on Noble Drew Ali and the Moorish Temple can be found in Arthur Huff Fausett, *Black Gods of the Metropolis* (Philadelphia, 1942).

23. *Africa and America*, p. 94.

24. The first attempts by specialists in black studies to discover the elements of a distinct literary tradition in Afro-American writing are detectable in Benjamin Brawley, *The Negro Genius* (New York, 1937), and Benjamin Mays, *The God as Reflected in his Literature* (Boston, 1938). Ethiopianism as a religious movement began in South Africa around 1900. It rapidly spread throughout the continent and was known in the United States by 1904. See Casely Hayford, *Ethiopia Unbound* (London, 1911); Jomo Kenyatta, *Facing Mt. Kenya* (London, 1938), Chapter 11; and Daniel Thwaite, *The Seething African Pot* (London, 1936). More recent discussions, which unfortunately lack any real concern with literary questions, are George Shepperson, "Ethiopianism and African Nationalism," *Phylon*, No. 1, 1953, and St. Clair Drake in *The Redemption of Africa and Black Religion* (Chicago, 1970). Should the reader seek

a further discussion of the literary implications of Ethiopianism than the scope of the present essay allows, I shall be glad to correspond.

BLACK STUDIES: THE LEGACY OF
BOOKER T. WASHINGTON AND CARTER G. WOODSON

by

Elizabeth L. Parker
University of San Francisco
San Francisco, California

Black education has evolved, with the early
T. Washington and Carter G. Woodson, into an emp
Studies Programs of the 1970's. Black education
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CK STUDIES: THE LEGACY OF
WASHINGTON AND CARTER G. WOODSON

by

Elizabeth L. Parker
iversity of San Francisco
n Francisco, California

Black education has evolved, with the early assistance of Booker T. Washington and Carter G. Woodson, into an emphasis on the Black Studies Programs of the 1970's. Black education began an industrial education promoted by Washington to help Blacks assimilate into the "white mainstream," thereby becoming what Kenneth Stampp has called "white men with black skins."[1] Carter G. Woodson assisted the evolution of Black education by promoting an awareness of the Black historical tradition, thus laying the foundations for the Black Studies Programs of today.

The goal of Black education in the time of Washington was not aimed at a restructuring of the methods, content, or purposes of education but to achieve a greater participation in education by Blacks. The major curriculum debate in Black education three quarters of a century ago concerned the relative merits of academic versus industrial education.[2] Carter Woodson began the restructuring by his push for Black History, which was to change the content of education. The Black Studies Programs of the 1970's have taken the initiative by restructuring the methods, content, and purposes of "American Education."

This restructuring of "American Education" for Blacks has taken many forms. Recruitment programs; remedial, compensatory, and tutorial programs; courses in the standard curriculum dealing with the Black experience; separate courses for Blacks on the Black experience; establishment of centers, institutes, departments of Black Studies; and recruitment and assistance of Black graduate students have been a part of the restructuring.[3]

This restructuring of education has been faced with a great many objections which range from academic to political considerations. Some of the specific political arguments against Black Studies Programs are that their purpose is the training of militant revolutionary agents; they are racism in reverse, and they are chauvinistic to advocate Black superiority. The academic arguments are that these programs attempt to circumvent the conventional and more difficult performance standards of higher education, and they "by its very nature" lack intellectual and academic validity.[4]

The arguments for and against Black Studies Programs are not new: A Black educator in Virginia wrote a paper in 1876 entitled "Colored Teachers for Colored Schools," which sharply criticized Hampton Institute (Booker T. Washington's alma mater) for its shortage of Black instructors. The paper was endorsed by the Virginia Educational and Historical Association, a Black organization. A Black minister in an American Missionary Association church at Mobile, Alabama, in the 1880's reported disaffection among his flock because the Association's school had no Black teachers. "This is the great reason for all the prejudice that exists. The employment of a colored teacher would increase the influence of the school and the church and shut the mouths of those who are murmuring." And finally a Black lawyer in South Carolina went the whole way in 1883 and demanded that "Negro teachers exclusively be employed to teach Negro schools."[5]

Laura Towne, founder of Penn School on St. Helena Island in South Carolina, wrote in 1873 that schools taught by Blacks on the Sea Islands "are always in confusion, grief, and utter want of everything.

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It is hard to imagine schools doing so little good." The president of Straight University (a forerunner of Dillard) in New Orleans urged the American Missionary Association not to employ Black teachers in the law and theological departments just because of "this clamor for colored teachers. . . . We can't have any humbug about this department for the sake of color. . . . Colored teachers are not generally successful." Blacks discounted this argument by insisting that Anglo-Saxon academic standards should not be the only criteria for hiring teachers. Francis Grimke declared in 1885 that the development of race pride should be a major objective of Black education. The low self-image with which the Black man had emerged from slavery was perpetuated by schools with white faculties, "The intellects of our young people are being educated at the expense of their manhood. In the classroom they see only white professors, which lead them to associate these places and the idea of fitness for them only with white men." Grimke further stated that, in their slowness to appoint Black professors, the schools "are failing to use one of the most effective means in their power, of helping on this race."[6]

J. Willis Menard, who had been the first Black elected to Congress, asserted in 1885 that while many white teachers were sincere and dedicated, others were selfish hypocrites, and in any case, no white teacher could achieve the rapport and empathy with Black students that a Black teacher could. "We demand educated colored teachers for colored schools, because their color identity makes them more interested in the advancement of colored children than white teachers, and because colored pupils need the social contact of colored teachers."[7]

Floyd B. McKissick, the former National Director of the Congress of Racial Equality, writing in 1967, stated that

> "Black children must daily see Black people in positions of authority and power: Black educators fully knowledgeable of their own history and values, must be visible and in close contact with Black children. We cannot continue to blame all the other forces in society for the failure of our educational system. When that system is set aright we can begin to rid our other institutions of racism. But public education is the guardian of our children's minds and is one of the first and paramount influences in their lives. We cannot afford less than excellence."[8]

It is this excellence that the Black Studies Programs are addressing themselves to by a restructuring of "American liberal education." The "demands" for the establishment of Black Studies Programs by Black students represent a constructive challenge to the educational establishment within the institutions of higher learning to develop programs that would truly function for the attainment of goals associated with the liberal arts; in other words, Black Studies Programs represent a cry for the elevation of academic standards. Genuine academic standards can be measured by the extent to which there is interaction between students and teachers in the academic environment, the degree to which there is emphasis on learning, and the extent to which teachers and students participate in a genuine search for truth.[9] This search for truth is not the traditional uni-dimensional and limited form associated with white scholarship but rather a multi-dimensional form.

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The traditional uni-dimensional form of liberal arts curriculum has been a total commitment to the propagation of Western ideas and ideals. This commitment is a narrow one in the twentieth century with the news media and rapid modes of transportation contributing to an awareness of other civilizations and cultures. The world we live in is a multi-ethnic one or a multi-dimensional one. This multi-dimensional awareness hopefully will develop into a pluralistic perception of reality whereby minority cultural and racial differences will be accepted and respected even by the dominant cultural group and will not be dismissed as deviant or lacking in value.

Most of the "social problems" of the twentieth century are ones that have their basis in attitudes that have been nurtured by the Western dualistic vision of reality. A simple example of this vision is that "white is right and black is bad."

James Baldwin, the writer, addresses himself to this Western dualistic vision of reality by the following statement:

"It is not really a 'Negro revolution' that is upsetting the country. What is upsetting the country is a sense of its own identity. If, for example, one managed to change the curriculum in all the schools so that Negroes learned more about themselves and their real contributions to this culture (American), you would be liberating not only Negroes, you'd be liberating white people who know nothing about their own history. And the reason is that if you are compelled to lie about one aspect of anybody's history, you must lie about it all. If you have to lie about my real role here, if you have to pretend that I hoed all

> that cotton just because I loved you, then you have done something to yourself. You are mad."[10]

This Western dualistic vision of reality as seen in America is one of "whiteness." America has been "whitenized"[11] from the very beginning. White people today argue, with some justice and great heat, that none of them is old enough to have owned slaves and that, therefore, they ought not to be held guilty for whatever damage was done the Blacks by that "ancient wrong." A racist society? The idea offends them, particularly after a decade in which they had as they frequently said "done so much for the Negro." Yet the middle-aged, middle-class and thoroughly decent American of the 1960's grew up in a culture whose language itself identified white as good (white hopes, white hates, Snow White, and the White House) and black as bad (blackmail, black day, black mood, black magic); which, with endless invention, referred to Blacks as "nigger," "nigra," "coon," "darky," "dinge," "smoke," "spook," "spade," "shine," "jig," "jigaboo," "boot," or "boy," sometimes to their faces; which baked angel's food cake, which is white, and devil's food cake, which is black; which populated its Africa with "Tarzan and Jane," "Little Black Sambo," and cartoon cannibals stewing missionaries in iron pots; which read its children those quaint old Uncle Remus tales, rarely suspecting that Br'er Rabbit was probably America's first Black revolutionary; whose history textbooks commonly insulted the Black man, when they mentioned him at all.[12] An example of this portrayal is seen in the 1940 and 1950 editions of The Growth of the American Republic, by the historians Samuel Eliot Morison and Henry Steele Commager:

> "As for Sambo, whose wrongs moved the abolition
> there is some reason to believe that he suffere
> class in the South from its 'peculiar instituti
> the slaves were adequately fed, well cared for,
> . . . Although brought to America by force, the
> Negro soon became attached to the country, and
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> "As for Sambo, whose wrongs moved the abolitionists to wrath and tears, there is some reason to believe that he suffered less than any other class in the South from its 'peculiar institution.' The majority of the slaves were adequately fed, well cared for, and apparently happy. . . . Although brought to America by force, the incurably optimistic Negro soon became attached to the country, and devoted to his 'white folks.'"[13]

A culture whose public schools graduated generations, black and white, who could tell you with authority that Booker T. Washington came Up From Slavery and that George Washington Carver was the "Father of the Peanut" but were otherwise illiterate in Black History; which distinguished those Black heavyweight champions who were a "credit to their race" (Joe Louis and Floyd Patterson) from those who were not (Jack Johnson, Sonny Liston, and Muhammad Ali); which dressed brides in white and undertakers in black; which outgrew "coon" songs but not "darky" jokes; which sent a segregated army to fight Nazi racism in Europe; which probably suspected all along that "Sambo" one day would stop grinning but which managed nevertheless to be surprised in turn by the "Movement," the riots and the judgment of the Riot Commission that we are a nation decisively shaped by our racial prejudices. Such has been the "American liberal education."[14]

This restructuring of the "American liberal education" by Blacks was begun in the late 1960's on the Southern Black College campus. These campuses became the battlegrounds of the Black revolt. The sparks flew first on a series of campuses in "Dixie"--Fisk, Tennessee A & I, Jackson State, and Texas Southern--in the spring of 1967. It continued in Orangeburg, South Carolina, the following winter, when state troopers fired into a crowd of demonstrating South Carolina State and Claflin College students, killing three and wounding twenty-seven. The rebellion soon spread to the mostly white campuses of the North and West as well. Blacks led the long strike that afflicted San Francisco State College for most of the 1968-69 school year. Black demonstrations closed City College of New York briefly and set off three days of brawling between white and Black students. Blacks at Brandeis and at Duke occupied buildings and proclaimed them Malcolm X Universities (MXU); Brandeis' MXU departed peaceably after eleven days of negotiation but Duke's was evicted by court order and routed by police with the use of tear gas. A classroom boycott at Wisconsin started to develop into violence, and the National Guard was ordered in to break it up at bayonet point.[15]

One possible reason for this attempted restructuring of American education to fit the needs of Black Americans lays in the recent march to independence by Black Africa's thirty-four countries.[16] This independence from colonial rule affected all of those who were part of the "African Diaspora":[17] Blacks in the New World as well as Africa.

It has been said that "so long as the African is regarded as a man without a history and without a culture, doubts concerning his ability to govern himself will find credence."[18] The racist and the imperialist speak to millions, whereas, the teacher of African history speaks to mere hundreds. And so the myth and the doubts persist. The first task is to set the record of history straight. "The point is not that Africans have no history but that there is profound ignorance

concerning it, and an almost pathological unwilli
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Malcolm X, speaking at the Organization of Africa
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concerning it, and an almost pathological unwillingness to believe the evidence of it when presented."[19] As the status of this once "Dark Continent" changed so did that of all Blacks in the New World. Malxolm X, speaking at the Organization of African Unity Conference in Cairo, July 17-21, 1964, stated:

> "We, in America, are your long-lost brothers and sisters, and I am here only to remind you that our problems are your problems. As the African Americans 'awaken' today, we find ourselves in a strange land that has rejected us, and like the prodigal son, we are turning to our elder brothers for help. We pray our pleas will not fall upon deaf ears."[20]

America is still in a quandary in its efforts towards educating its Blacks. Today the factors involved are more perplexing than in the days of Booker T. Washington and Carter G. Woodson. Post-bellum America failed to provide its Blacks with the assets of first-class citizenship, and first of all the right to a relevant education. Black Americans have the legacy of Washington and Woodson to guide them through this quandary. The example of these two men will lead toward an education for Blacks somewhere between their two approaches. They can utilize the best of Washington, his "education of the hands," and all of Woodson. This resolving of America's educational quandary by Blacks themselves will eventually add a greater dimension to American liberal education for all citizens--Blacks, Browns, Yellows, and Whites.

FOOTNOTES

1. Kenneth Stampp, *The Peculiar Institution: Slavery in the Ante-Bellum South* (New York, 1956), p. vii.
2. James M. McPherson, "White Liberals and Black Power in Negro Education, 1865-1915," *American Historical Review*, LXXV, #5, June, 1970, footnote #1, p. 1357.
3. Donald Henderson, "What Direction Black Studies?" in Henry J. Richards (ed.), *Topics in Afro-American Studies* (Buffalo, 1971), p. 9.
4. *Ibid*., pp. 10-1.
5. Cited in McPherson, "White Liberals," p. 1361.
6. *Ibid*., pp. 1361-2, and Francis Grimke, "Colored men as professors in Colored institutions," *A.M.E. Church Review*, October, 1885, pp. 142-4.
7. McPherson, "White Liberals," p. 1362.
8. Quoted in San Francisco *Chronicle*, November 17, 1967.
9. Henry J. Richards, "Introduction: Black Studies the Liberal Arts and Academic Standards," in *Topics in Afro-American Studies* (Buffalo, 1971), p. 2.
10. Quoted in article by John Henrik Clarke, "Black Power and Black History," in Henry Drewry (ed.), *Afro-American History: Past and Present* (New York, 1971), p. 520.
11. Phrase used by Peter Goldman in *Report From Black America* (New York, 1971), pp. 140-1.
12. *Ibid*.

13. "The Cotton Kingdom," Volume I, Chapter XX
edition does not include this statement.
14. Goldman, *Report*, p. 142.
15. *Ibid*., p. 91.
16. Roland Oliver and Anthony Atmore, *Africa S*
1971), Chapters 18-20.
17. Phrase used by George Shepperson, Professo
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on Negro-American Influences on the Emerge
ism," *Journal of African History*, I, #2 (19
also "The African Diaspora--or the African
2, #1 (Summer, 1966), pp. 76-93.
18. Cited in Raymond F. Betts (ed.), *The Ideolo*
(Massachusetts, 1971), p. 139.
19. Goldman, *Report*, p. 141.
20. Betts, *Ideology of Blackness*, p. 138.

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, 140-1.

13. "The Cotton Kingdom," Volume I, Chapter XXVI, p. 337. The 1971 edition does not include this statement.

14. Goldman, Report, p. 142.

15. Ibid., p. 91.

16. Roland Oliver and Anthony Atmore, Africa Since 1800 (London, 1971), Chapters 18-20.

17. Phrase used by George Shepperson, Professor of History at the University of Edinburgh, Scotland. See also his articles, "Notes on Negro-American Influences on the Emergence of African Nationalism," Journal of African History, I, #2 (1960), pp. 299-312; see also "The African Diaspora--or the African Abroad," African Forum, 2, #1 (Summer, 1966), pp. 76-93.

18. Cited in Raymond F. Betts (ed.), The Ideology of Blackness (Massachusetts, 1971), p. 159.

19. Goldman, Report, p. 141.

20. Betts, Ideology of Blackness, p. 138.

9

RESOCIALIZATION OF THE BLACK STUDENT WITHIN A NEW PERMISSIVE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM?

by

Gerald Eugene Thomas
University of Wisconsin - Madison
Madison, Wisconsin

We are on a collision course in that as the A
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We are on a collision course in that as the American public school system pushes more and more toward the so-called "permissive" and "liberal" philosophies and practices of education, it will create more problems for the educator of black students as well as frustrate the ability of the black student to adapt to the realities of oppressive conditions in American society. The recent somewhat unsuccessful efforts of the "compensatory education" strategy is a case in point. In this instance it is clear that certain white value assumptions were in conflict with black socialization practices and thus the reality of the black existence.[1] But of course much of the value in these programs was that they merely served a "symbolic function."

> "This symbolic attack on a social problem . . . serves the purpose of assuaging lingering doubt that we are not doing enough to help the poor and disadvantaged, but it also guards against asking those hard questions that might upset the status-quo interests."[2]

Perhaps one of those hard questions that might be asked is: What should be the role of the American Educational System in cutting the black individual's path toward freedom?

Before answering this question, let us first agree that it has been the function of modern education to imbue in Euro-Americans the virtues of individualism and self-determination as a means to personal achievement of life goals. Such a philosophy of education was harmonious with the Industrial Revolution at the turn of the century when the maximum output by each citizen was vital to the growth of the nation. This nation, perhaps, could not have developed so well without the assistance of an educational system which socialized pupils toward the national objectives. And then again, in more recent times, the educational system has been utilized to buttress a slightly different Euro-cultural need. The American middle and upper class white citizenry over the past two decades or so has been burdened with the task of rationalizing a behavior that one psychologist has termed the "psychology of more," that is, during the recent decades of relative prosperity, Americans have consumed goods and services at an unprecedented rate. Individuals "hence acquire beliefs concerning consumption."[3] And as Looft has noted:

> "As in all societies, formal education in America is the process of transposing an economic and social ideology into an individual, internalized, personalized matrix of values and self-reference system."[4]

The formal educational process of socialization has then developed a philosophical model of man which legitimizes him as a (to use Looft's words) "consumptive and reactive" creature. This author would argue that such a need as described above has pressed certain educators to adopt and adapt the writings of such thinkers as A. H. Maslow and Carl Rogers. Maslow's concept of the "self-actualized" man[5] lends itself to a bastardized "do your own thing" model of man. The "self-actualized" man has been misconstrued in order to appear consonant with the behavior of many a "consumptive and reactive" American. Carl Rogers, perhaps our leading living humanist, has stated that the human organism has an inherent tendency to "actualize," i.e., to grow spontaneously and to develop. However, Rogers has also emphasized in his writings that self-actualization is subject to the social environment. Often the charismatic, would-be followers of Maslow and Rogers pay too little attention to the social environmental contingenci
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attention to the social environmental contingencies Rogers spoke about. Perhaps dominant white culture can afford to blur the distinction between the "self-actualized" man and the "do your own thing" concept.[6] However, such a casual and "spontaneous" approach to development is incongruous to the constraints placed upon the black life. The true self-actualizer in his purist form recognizes the sickness of society and the weakness in his culture; this idealistic response to life pursued by many middle class white Americans, however, is too a-political and recklessly detached from the true nature of this social system whose modus operandi is to make obsolete that which it considers undesirable. Black people are undesirable in America, and have always been undesirable, but have survived. This survival has not been due to a benevolent dominant culture; neither has it been an accident.

Many of the assertions made above permeate the whole of society and because they do so in such magnitude, complete explication of this view is beyond the scope of this paper. Although the focus of this paper is the effect the modern school has upon personal development of the black person, there are very real implications for society and education in general. During the height of the white student activism of the late 60's and early 70's, the phrase "the student as the nigger" was coined. Parallels between white radical students and blacks can validly be made. In the case of the "radical white" student vs. the establishment, the educational process far exceeded the capacity of society to deal with this optimally "liberated" young white American. In this sense, education failed the student. Black America has always been aware of the dangers of such precociousness. Now we threaten to have this 300 year old wit--this reality awareness--"educated away."

The intent of this essay is to suggest that we do not know enough about the black psyche (specifically, achievement motivation and aspirations) to guide the black youth through this new maze of educational reform. Or, perhaps enough is known, and the political-strategical question is: Should black students run the risk of becoming innocent casualties in a "family squabble" between the disillusioned "haves" and the survival demands of their economic culture?

THE GENERAL CONTEXT: WHITE EDUCATIONAL PROCESS MOVING TOWARD A DUBIOUS "SELF-ACTUALIZED" SOCIETY

Educational philosophies and practices are, of course, no good unless they serve the society and culture within which they exist. The traditional educational system was established and functioned by a set of values supportive of an economic-industrial society. Two principles which Americans have learned to value (inculcations processed chiefly by the school system as mentioned above) are an appreciation for the "democratic process" and individualism. Postman and Weingartner, in the first chapter of their book entitled Teaching as a Subversive Activity stated in their first paragraph of the chapter, "Crap Detecting," the following:

> "'In 1492, Columbus discovered America.' . . . Starting from this disputed fact, each one of us will describe the history of this country in a somewhat different way. Nonetheless, it is reasonable to assume that most of us would include something about what is called the
> 'democratic process,' and how Americans have valu
> problem: one of the tenets of a democratic societ
> allowed to think and express themselves freely on
> the point of speaking out against the idea of a d
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CONTEXT: WHITE EDUCATIONAL PROCESS
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'democratic process,' and how Americans have valued it. Therein lies a problem: one of the tenets of a democratic society is that men be allowed to think and express themselves freely on any subject, even to the point of speaking out against the idea of a democratic society. To the extent that our schools are instruments of such a society, they must develop in the young not only an awareness of this freedom but a will to exercise it, and the intellectual power and perspective to do so effectively. This is necessary so that the society may continue to change and modify to meet unforeseen threats, problems, and opportunities. Thus, we can achieve what John Garner calls an 'ever-renewing society.' So goes the theory."[7]

Intentional, of course, is a degree of cynicism Postman and Weingartner wished to convey in the above excerpt. In these remarks, however, are demonstrated a bit of the old assumptions of the purposes of education as well as the new liberal and perhaps quasi-revolutionary educational philosophies. As unwholesome as the thought may be to some, the socialization of youth toward unquestionable beliefs about American society and culture and the roles they must assume has its merits, provided one wishes to suspend ethical judgment of such processes. Skinner made the point that the effectiveness of a culture to survive is dependent upon the "measures used by the culture to induce its members to work for its survival."[8] In addition, he asserted that a capitalistic or socialist culture suggests a dominant set of economic practices associated with "compatible practices of other kinds."[9]

This writer would consider, as part of the other "compatible practices," the educational system which until recently insured a high degree of dependency of its students on the economic system while at the same time fostering what could be considered a healthy illusion of freedom and self-determination.

Now something has gone "wrong" between youth and the American culture. And, perhaps, it is not just the fact that more educators are leading their students to reassess their relationship with their culture. For as Postman and Weingartner pointed up, teachers have acted "almost entirely as shills for corporate interests, shaping students up to be functionaries in one bureaucracy or another."[10] It would appear perhaps that a radical shift in the practices of economic institutions has upset the education process. Alvin Toffler has suggested that: "Ever since the rise of industrialism, education in the West, and particularly in the United States, has been organized for the mass production of basically standardized educational packages. It is not accidental that at the precise moment when the consumer has begun to demand and obtain greater diversity, the same moment when new technology promises to make destandardization possible, a wave of revolt has begun to sweep the college campus. Though the connection is seldom noticed, events on the campus and events in the consumer are intimately connected."[11]

The white students' illusion of freedom and self-determination has been shaken. In growing numbers, the white student is experiencing "future shock," i.e., they are being "confronted by the fact that the world they were educated to believe in doesn't exist."[12] Many educators are not responding to the crisis very well. Too many educators are not responding to their dilemma at all. Some educators are pushing

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BLACK SOCIALIZATION AND PERSONALITY
EDUCATIONAL IMPLICATIONS

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their students far beyond the bounds of the culture, suggesting that the answers lie somewhere between the super-self-actualized self and "Disneyland."

Although this dilemma will be discomforting for a while, American culture and society will work out an agreement with the disillusioned and disenchanted (the student included). In the process of a negotiation, there will be a degree of risk taking but it is to the advantage of each party to lessen permanent impairing consequences. For both the white culture society and its white youth need each other to survive. But as Samuel Yette and Sidney Willhelm have recently pointed out to us again, this culture no longer needs black people.[13]

BLACK SOCIALIZATION AND PERSONALITY DEVELOPMENT: EDUCATIONAL IMPLICATIONS

Essential to the argument being advanced here is the fact that most social scientists and educators lack an understanding or even the feel for the kind of world view held by black people. Given a basic misunderstanding of the way the Afro-American perceives the self in relation to the rest of the social environment of course hinders efforts to develop suitable educational programs to close the achievement gap between black and white students. Without the knowledge of "where the person is," we cannot properly define that which motivates him or her to learn. Equally unsuitable educational philosophies can be dysfunctional to a "black agenda."

Our psychology of man in the western culture is dominated by a host of assumptions about human behavior that are compatible with our culture as it exists or we desire it to exist. American culture is considered an "advanced," "complex" and technological culture. The associated concept of the ideal man in a "complex," "advanced" and technological culture is the Horatio Alger type, the individualist who can effectively manipulate his complex environment and reach success. Related also is western man's concept of development. Development carries with it such concepts as "advancement," and "good" in addition to change. Cultures then that do not fit criteria of a developed western America then are considered "primitive" and undesirable, need alteration or adjustment, and in this context, need to be made white middle-class western American. A good example of how this western American view of the world and concept of man permeates our study of human behavior is the discussion in Sechrest and Wallace on "survival"[14] as a criterion for what constitutes adjusted behavior. Conveniently enough also, as it turns out, a significant difference in black American behavior as opposed to white is what this writer calls a "survival mentality." Sechrest and Wallace dismissed survival as a criterion of adjustment in the following fashion:

> "A serious criticism of survival as criterion of adjustment is that it is inadequate, even irrelevant, in many of the situations that confront us in everyday life. In the highly socialized, industrialized, and technologically advanced cultures of today, very few people are faced with decisions involving physical harm or a threat to life itself. Thus the concept may be said to have a narrow range of convenience. . . ."[15]

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> "Many of these same so-called culturally deprived
> developed the kind of mental toughness and surviv
> coping with life, which make them in many ways su
> age-mates who are growing up in the material affl
> suburbias. These black youngsters know how to de
> bill collectors, building superintendents, corner
> hypes, pimps, whores, sickness, and death. They
> school counselors, principals, teachers, welfare
> authorities, and, in doing so, display a lot of p
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At least two important assumptions are implicit in the above reference, first that the individual is the reference point and secondly that all people within geographical confines of this advanced society are at liberty to feel beyond the "survival" stage of societal and cultural development. Such is not the case for the black man in America. To illustrate the point, the following excerpt from Joseph White's "Toward a Black Psychology":

> "Many of these same so-called culturally deprived youngsters have developed the kind of mental toughness and survival skills, in terms of coping with life, which make them in many ways superior to their white age-mates who are growing up in the material affluence of Little League suburbias. These black youngsters know how to deal effectively with bill collectors, building superintendents, corner grocery stores, hypes, pimps, whores, sickness, and death. They know how to jive school counselors, principals, teachers, welfare workers, juvenile authorities, and, in doing so, display a lot of psychological cleverness and originality. They recognize very early that they exist in an environment which is sometimes complicated and hostile. They may not be able to verbalize it, but they have already mastered what existential psychologists state to be the basic human condition; namely, that in this life, pain and struggle are unavoidable and that a complete sense of one's identity can only be achieved by both recognizing and directly confronting an unkind and alien existence."[16]

Although, perhaps, the above statement of personality development of the black youth is offensive to the conventional white social scientist in that it smacks of black ethnocentricism (romanticized at that), specialists in the study of Afro-American behavior, however, are becoming increasingly appreciative of efforts to develop what is being called a "Black Psychology." Also, in an effort to determine the uniqueness of a "black world view," researchers are going beyond the context of the black man in America and studying the black ethos as rooted in African religion and philosophy. In a short summary of Wade W. Nobles' paper entitled "African Philosophy: Foundations for Black Psychology," Nobles stated:

> "Black Psychology must concern itself with the question of 'rhythm.' It must discuss, at some length, 'the oral tradition.' It must unfold the mysteries of the spiritual energy now known as 'soul.' It must explain the notion of 'extended self' and the 'natural' orientation of African peoples to insure the 'survival of the tribe.' Briefly, it must examine the elements and dimensions of the experiential communalities of African peoples."[17]

In spite of the fact that some social scientists, black and white, have negated the possibility of African heritage having been transmitted to contemporary black Americans,[18] the issue is still very much alive. One indication of its feasibility is the continued effectiveness of white prejudice and discrimination in keeping the black man "in his place" and unassimilated in American society. Personally, this writer finds the notion plausible in that his grandfather was only nine years or so from being born in slavery and died but a few years ago. Our wretched past is still very much a part of our present.

We have dwelled upon the collectiveness of the black ethos in order to demonstrate that a significant determinant of a behavior, in this instance black culture, is a viable ration
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this instance black culture, is a viable rationale for a difference in behavior, once assuming differences in world views. Attempting to explain the behavior of blacks in this modality would be as unsatisfying as attempts heretofore exploring black behavior in the context of the white American ethos. Of real promise to this approach is the notion advanced by Charles Valentine with respect to a "bicultural" explanation of black behavior. Briefly, the proposition states that "blacks are simultaneously committed to both black culture and mainstream culture, and that the two are not mutually exclusive as generally assumed."[19] Each system or socialization, i.e., Afro-American and Euro-American, continues throughout the individual's life to be of equal importance.

The research in the areas of duo-socialization is far from being completed. Robert Staples has given us some insight into the dimensions of the theoretical and methodological problem in understanding the role of the black family.[20] The work of Joyce Ladner (1971), entitled Tomorrow's Tomorrow, provided an illuminating social-psychological treatment of the bicultural personality development of the black woman.[21] One implication that might logically be derived from the black duality is an appreciation for the American cultural value of "get all you can"; and while on the other side: "but don't be surprised when you don't" attitude. The writer will attempt to illuminate this position in the following discussion of the apparent anomaly of black high aspirations and low achievement.

In other areas of the socialization process, we are in need of interdisciplinary research methods to study, e.g., black peer group relations. Social peer group phenomena such as playing "The Dozens" is often cited as personality development.[22] There are a number of other such attitude shaping rituals.

THE APPARENT ACHIEVEMENT-MOTIVATION AND ASPIRATION "ANOMALY": CASE IN POINT!

Over the past fifteen years or so an increasing amount of attention has been paid to the achievement-motivation-aspiration phenomenon and what accounts for low achievement of blacks in both the classroom and on the job. A good sample of the literature as well as interesting comparative analysis and interpretation is given by Guterman.[23] It quickly becomes apparent in the review of the literature (some of which is referred to as "internal-external locus of control" research) that the present understanding of the phenomenon leaves the educational planner on questionable grounds when attempts are made to increase classroom performance of seemingly unmotivated black youth.

The complexity of the issue is increased when additional research finds that black school children express high occupational goals,[24] and that black mothers have comparable value orientations in regard to their children's future.[25] A statement made by black psychiatrists William H. Grier and Price M. Cobbs in their book, "Black Rage," commands attention:

> "Although education may in the long run be an important instrument for black people, children may have clearer vision when they see the classroom as immediately irrelevant. Their vision is clearer than that of
> men who plead for black people to become educate
> all blacks as bondsmen temporarily out of bondage

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men who plead for black people to become educated in a land which views all blacks as bondsmen temporarily out of bondage."[26]

Here again we note the "reality awareness" in black children that appears to guard against a pathological pursuit of the evasive American Dream. As educators of black children, is it ethical to "radically" tamper with the black personality's adaptational developmental processes until the threat to black survival is removed? Would it not be more humane to work within limits of the black's world view and help to crystalize a value system that is more compatible to his existence in an alien environment?

SUMMARY AND CONCLUDING REMARKS

The writer has briefly presented a few considerations which hopefully will encourage the educators of black students to view some of the newer notions for educational reform from a black perspective. One must first recognize that the purpose of any educational system within a society is to be supportive of its cultural philosophy.

The question of what kinds of values are to be taught and how[27] is indicative of the dilemma educators have found themselves in. It is obvious that values are and have always been taught by the school as a mandate from the American economic culture. The conflict between middle-class students, educators, and schools over what degree of personal values are tolerable within the cultural and social context of this advanced cybernetic and technological society is something its respective constituents will have to resolve. The development of black culture is at another stage requiring a different agenda.

Although the intent of John E. Churchville's remarks in his essay entitled "On Correct Black Education" were intended as a rebuff to "super black" revolutionaries, the sentiment is appropriate in this larger context. He stated:

> "It is especially important that we raise the standard of correct discipline against the decadent cries of 'freedom of self-expression,' and 'freedom of the individual.' We must raise our children in an environment which demonstrates the power and purposefulness of the disciplined life of correct revolutionary struggle."[28]

The above words are perhaps too harsh for the average middle-class individual socialized in America to accept easily. And perhaps for bicultural Afro-Americans, they are half as hard to accept. But in view of the harsh realities of the black experiences and the personality development of blacks, which has always been survival oriented, it may be a wiser course to follow than those proposed which have questionable appropriateness.

In view of the character of the educational system which has been depicted above, the author sees relevance of public school education as better capable of "training" black students and letting other black institutions integrate those skill acquisitions into his personality, as Bereiter suggested as a role for all schools.[29]

In addition, the public school should have a curriculum which will encourage the black student to be "instrumental" in his or her behavior. The motivation to achieve skills must originate from the black family and community. "No school program can tap child potential in depth, without attention to totality of elements."[30]

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This writer suggests that one of the beliefs a black "significant other" might inculcate into the value system of black students is that his first obligation is to act in some way toward the liberation of black people and the value of his self-esteem is to be gauged by the quality of his efforts.

FOOTNOTES

1. S. S. and J. C. Baratz, "Early Childhood Intervention: The Social Science Base of Institutional Racism," *Harvard Educational Review*, 1970, 40, pp. 29-50.

2. W. R. Looft, "Conceptions of Human Nature, Educational Practice, and Individual Development," *Human Development*, 1973, 16, in press.

3. W. R. Looft, "The Psychology of More," *American Psychologist*, 1971, 26, pp. 561-5.

4. Looft, "Conceptions of Human Nature," *Human Development*, in press.

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